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FANATICISM and TREASON:

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OR, A DISPASSIONATE

HISTORY

OF THE

RISE, PROGRESS,

AND

SUPPRESSION,

OF THE

REBELLIOUS INSURRECTIONS

In JUNE 1780.

BY A

Real FRIEND to RELIGION and to BRITAIN.

LONDON:
Printed for G. KEARSLY, No. 46, Fleet-ſtreet.
M.DCC.LXXX.

THE

RISE, PROGRESS, &c.

THESE are not times, nor is this the place, for parade of introduction or pompoſity of reflection. The reader is beginning to peruſe a plain, unadorned, diſpaſſionate account of ſuch ſcenes as are not at preſent to be found in any hiſtory of any country. That they may be recorded, and faithfully recorded, in the hiſtory of this country, the ſubſequent incredible narrative is put together *---as well as that the preſent ſpectators

* "Recorded in the hiſtory of our country"—for we muſt not expect to ſee any thing of *this trifling nature*, and *this innocent complexion*, mentioned by the dignity of the *Annual Regiſter*; ſince it is a fact, for the truth of which appeal is here made to the *valuable* book itſelf, that, in the *Annual Regiſter* for 1778, no more mention is made of the infamous 27th of July, than if this country had not on that day been eternally diſgraced. We are not even told in the hiſtorical part, that the fleets ever met, either handſomely or unhandſomely. In the chronicle part, between the 25th and the 31ſt of July, the reader only finds the following paragraph. "There is now growing in the garden of "Charles Leigh, Eſq. of Addington, in Lancaſter, a ſerpent melon, "which meaſures in length five feet two inches and an half. The "fruit of this curious plant grew to the above length in fourteen days, "and for a week paſt has continued increaſing in thickneſs."——Yet are the readers told, in the preface to this volume, that "It records

ſpectators of theſe convulſions, and thoſe who ſhall hereafter ſhudder while they read the account of them, may learn what barbarities a body of men, profeſſing the moſt peaceable intentions, may commit; and how the mildeſt religion, in certain hands, may become an engine wherewith to ſhake to its foundations the mildeſt government.

The writer of this narrative is conſcious of no feelings nor of any reſentments but of ſuch as muſt be experienced by every individual who boaſts the name of Engliſhman. Even thoſe reſentments and thoſe feelings, if ſuppoſed to be a little rouzed by family ſituations of no common ſort occaſioned by theſe tumults, are in ſome meaſure laid aſleep by an obſtinate illneſs which will hardly allow him ſtrength to relate that ſuppreſſion of the ſavages, to which he would ſo willingly have contributed at the utmoſt hazard of his property and his exiſtence.---

It will not immediately occur to the mind of every reader that he, who would thoroughly comprehend the danger of the late troubles, muſt travel back near a century and a half---muſt for a moment turn to former troubles, which, though far more ſerious in their conſequences, were, at the inſtant, much leſs alarming perhaps than thoſe whereof we have been unhappy

" matters in which they are all concerned. No man, nor no" [an *Engliſhman* would probably have written *nor any*] " ſtation can be free " from their conſequences." The preface modeſtly concludes with obſerving, what can*not* be denied by *no* reader, that the *Annual Regiſter* for 1778 " affords an unqueſtionable teſtimony to the public, that " neither the zeal nor the induſtry of the author are ſlackened by their " favour."

ſpectators,

ſpectators, whereby ſo many have been wretched ſufferers. To learn the reality of the imminent danger which popular tyranny ſo lately ſuſpended over this country by the ſingle, trembling hair of Dionyſius, we muſt know the real power of that popular cry--- "No Papiſts! No Popery!"---

Quæ ſidera, excantata voce Theſſalâ,
Lunamque cælo deripit!

The period to which we muſt go back, is the reign of our firſt Charles; and, in that reign, to the beginning of the commotions.---It may be worth obſerving, that all hiſtorians who lived near that age, or, what perhaps is more deciſive, that all authors, who have caſually made mention of thoſe public tranſactions, ſtill repreſent the civil diſorders and convulſions as proceeding from religious controverſy; and conſider the political diſputes about power and liberty as entirely ſubordinate to the other. The diſtempered imaginations of men were agitated with a continual dread of Popery. The fanatical ſpirit, let looſe, confounded all regards to eaſe, ſafety, intereſt; and diſſolved every moral and every civil obligation. Never was there a people leſs corrupted by vice, or more actuated by principle, than the Engliſh, during that period: never were there individuals who poſſeſſed more capacity, more courage, more public ſpirit, more diſintereſted zeal. The infuſion of one ingredient, in too large a proportion, had corrupted all theſe noble principles, and converted them into the moſt virulent poiſon*.--- And are we, of the preſent day, proof againſt the ſame

* Hume, (4to ed. 1770) ch. 55 and 56.

diabolical ingredient? Is humanity altered ſince the fanatical days of Cromwell? Shall not we guard againſt the ſame poiſon, ſymptoms whereof have already diſcovered themſelves ſtill more virulent? A few plain facts---and no man can doubt about the danger from which we have eſcaped; or about the neceſſity of our watching, night and day, over the embers, till every the *moſt minuteſt* ſpark ſhall be extinguiſhed.

Oliver Cromwell, in 1629, complained to the houſe, of one, who, he was told, preached flat popery.* Pym, in the parliament which the king called in 1640, after an intermiſſion of eleven years, among the grievances which he enumerated during a long and ſet harangue, loudly complained of the ſuſpenſion of the laws againſt Papiſts.† Among other acts of regal, executive power, which this parliament was every day aſſuming, they iſſued orders for demoliſhing all images, altars, crucifixes. The zealous Sir Robert Harley, to whom was committed the execution of theſe orders, removed all croſſes even out of ſtreets and markets; and, from his abhorrence of that ſuperſtitious figure, would not any where allow two pieces of wood or ſtone to lie quietly over each other at right angles.‡ Among the daily alarms by which the terrors of the public were kept alive, they underſtood that meetings were holden by the Papiſts in immenſe caves in Surrey: they were aſſured the Papiſts had entered into a plot to blow up the Thames with

* Ruſhworth, vol. 1. p. 655. Parl. Hiſt. vol. 8. p. 289.

† Clarendon, vol. 1. p. 133.

‡ Hume, ch. 55. Whitlocke, p. 45.

gunpowder

gunpowder, in order to drown London and Weſtminſter. § When Charles imprudently went to the houſe in perſon to demand the members whom he had imprudently accuſed, this unparalleled breach of privilege, as it was called, was ſtill aſcribed to the bloody counſels of Papiſts. ‖ When Charles, apprehenſive of danger from the enraged multitude, retired to Hampton Court; in order further to excite the people, the expedient of petitioning was renewed. The petitions from the apprentices and porters warned the houſe, like all the other petitions, of the danger of religion. * A brewer's wife, followed by many thouſands of her ſex, brought a petition to the houſe, wherein the petitioners expreſſed their terror of the Papiſts. † After the commons had prevailed upon Charles to diſplace Sir John Biron, whom he had appointed governor of the Tower, and to beſtow the command on Sir John Conyers, they made a fruitleſs attempt, in which the peers refuſed their concurrence, to give public warning to the kingdom to put themſelves in a poſture of defence againſt the enterprizes of Papiſts and other ill-affected perſons. ‡ Finally (for here ſurely are facts enough; though hiſtory can ſupply thoſe who have greater leiſure with many more), the county of Stafford, in a petition to the houſe, expreſſed ſuch dread of an inſurrection among the Papiſts, that every man, they ſaid, was

§ Sir Edward Walker, p. 349.

‖ Hume, ch. 56.

* Ruſhworth, vol. 5. p. 462. Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 412.

† Hume ch. 56.

‡ Nalſon, vol. 2. p. 850.

conſtrained to ſtand upon his guard, not even daring to go to church unarmed. §

The great courage and conduct, diſplayed by many of the popular leaders of thoſe days, have commonly inclined men to do them, in one reſpect, more honour than they deſerve; and to ſuppoſe, that, like able politicians, they employed pretences which they ſecretly deſpiſed, in order to ſerve their ſelfiſh purpoſes. It is, however, probable, if not certain, that they were, generally ſpeaking, the dupes of their own zeal. Hypocriſy, quite pure and free from fanaticiſm, is perhaps as rare as fanaticiſm entirely purged from all mixture of hypocriſy. So congenial to the human mind are religious ſentiments, that it is impoſſible to counterfeit long theſe holy fervors, without feeling ſome ſhare of the aſſumed warmth: and, on the other hand, ſo precarious and temporary, from the frailty of human nature, is the operation of theſe ſpiritual views, that the religious ecſtaſies, if conſtantly employed, muſt often be counterfeit, and muſt be warped by thoſe more familiar motives of intereſt and ambition, which inſenſibly gain upon the mind. This, indeed, ſeems the key to moſt of the celebrated characters of that age. Equally full of fraud and of ardour, theſe pious patriots talked perpetually of ſeeking the Lord, yet ſtill purſued their own purpoſes; and have left a memorable leſſon to poſterity, how deluſive, how deſtructive, that principle is by which they were animated. ‖

Thus much concerning the gradual effects of the cry of "No Papiſts, No Popery!" in 1640, and in

§ Dugdale, p. 89. ‖ Hume, note to ch. lvi.

the

the following years. What it finally effected in January, 1649, every reader knows. However ſome may think that Charles even deſerved his death, few, could thoſe times return again, would wiſh to have the ſame ſcenes again take place. Notwithſtanding the *ſuave mari magno* of the poet, no prayers were ever yet offered up for a ſtorm, but by thoſe ſavages who watch for the plunder of the wreck. Humanity is, every now and then, diſgraced by a would-be Cromwell; in the feathered creation is ſometimes ſeen a bird of prey.

They, who remember their apprehenſions during almoſt a whole week in the preſent month of June, will not very patiently endure any zealot of faction who ſhall hereafter talk about appeals to the people.--

Let us now turn our eyes to the effects of this magic cry among us; when this country had received the additional poliſh and improvement of almoſt an hundred and fifty years, added to the experience and recollection of what this incantation formerly produced. He, who means faithfully to relate the evils of the preſent day, muſt not be quite ſo ſummary in the execution of his work as the miſguided populace, whoſe horrid performances he ſits down to deſcribe. The reader wiſhes to hear of cauſes, before he is told of effects.

The writer's motives for putting together this little hiſtory have already been mentioned. He proceeds to relate facts; inferences he leaves to be drawn by others.

M.

Mr. Almon is a popular and a patriotic hiſtorian. From his parliamentary debates the parliamentary facts will be collected.

On the 13th of April 1778, upon the debate occaſioned by Sir. P. J. Clerke's bill to reſtrain members of the houſe from being concerned in any contract, Lord George Gordon accuſed Lord North of having offered his brother a place of a thouſand a year to prevail upon him (Lord G.) to vacate his ſeat. Lord George wiſhed Lord North to ſave his country and his own life, and to turn from his wickedneſs and live---it was not yet too late to repent; the public clamour for revenge was not yet raiſed againſt him.

On the firſt of the following month (May), the Roman catholic peers and commoners of Great Britain, obſerving the lenient ſpirit and liberal temper of the times, preſented an addreſs to his Majeſty, by the Earl of Surry, and the Right Hon. the Lords Linton and Petre, ſtating the patience with which they had ſo long acquieſced under the rigorous arm of the legiſlature; that they had thankfully received ſuch relaxations of the laws reſpecting them, as the mildneſs of an enlightened age, and the benignity of his Majeſty's government had gradually produced; that they ſubmiſſively waited, without preſuming to ſuggeſt either time or meaſure, for ſuch other indulgence as thoſe happy cauſes could not fail, in their own ſeaſon, to effect. This addreſs was ſigned by the Duke of Norfolk, the Lords Surrey, Shrewſberry, Linton (for the Scotch), Stourton, Petre, Arundel, Dormer, Teynham, Clifford, and 163 commoners.---Surely

163 Roman Catholic commoners, 9 Roman Catholic lords, and 1 Roman Catholic duke, did not compoſe the formidable army of heretics againſt whom Lord George aſſembled his 40000 men! Yet a ſtranger might ſuppoſe that many Roman Catholics would not, on the firſt of May, omit to ſign an addreſs to the King, which was evidently intended to pave the way for Sir George Savile's motion in the Houſe of Commons at the diſtance of no more than thirteen days.

That honourable member, on the 14th of May 1778, moved for leave to bring in a bill for the repeal of certain penalties and diſabilities provided in an act of the 10th and 11th of W. 3, intituled An Act to prevent the further Growth of Popery; and, among other arguments, dwelt upon the late loyal addreſs to his Majeſty. The motion was ſeconded by Mr. Dunning in loud and pointed language.

The Attorney General (Thurlow), with his uſual manlineſs of underſtanding, ſpoke plainly and firmly to the bill. He ſaid he had no intention of oppoſing the bill. He wiſhed the houſe to proceed cautiouſly. He divided the object of the bill into four heads, and begged the houſe to take up the principles upon which the laws on each head had been enacted. He thought the repeal of the penalties againſt popiſh prieſts who ſhould exerciſe their functions required ſome conſideration.---This ſpeech, though much more to the purpoſe than the prepared harangues of the father and the godfather of the motion, the impartial Annual Regiſter does not ſuffer him to deliver. In their account of this buſineſs, the reader does not find the name of the Attorney General Thurlow. Notwithſtanding this ſpeech, which it ſhould ſeem Lord George Gordon

muſt have approved, the late mobs were preparing to attack the houſe of Lord Chancellor Thurlow; and at a time when ſickneſs had diſqualified him both from reſiſting and removing.

Lord Beauchamp cloſed the debate by a warm ſpeech in ſupport of the motion. A bill was accordingly brought in, which paſſed without a ſingle negative---without even the negative of him who has ſince ſet the firebrand of faction to every part of London, and to many parts of the kingdom, in order to procure a repeal of that act which he did not think it neceſſary to oppoſe.* Forty thouſand men are to force parliament to undo what the individual who heads them might perhaps, by a few words at the time, have perſuaded parliament never to have done.

The act is the 18th of G. III. ch. 60. Its effect is to repeal ſo much of the 11th and 12th of W. III. as relates to the apprehending or proſecuting of popiſh biſhops, prieſts or jeſuits; and impriſoning for life Papiſts who keep ſchools; and diſabling them to inherit lands by deſcent or to purchaſe lands, in England, Wales or the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed. Theſe privileges extend themſelves only to thoſe perſons who, within ſix months after the paſſing of the act, or coming of age, ſhall take a certain oath therein preſcribed.

In the upper houſe, the ſecond reading of this bill took place on the 25th of May. As this was not a party buſineſs, no political connexions mixed themſelves as uſual with the abilities of the Biſhop of Peterborough and lowered the ſtrength of them. His

* He is even ſaid to have expreſſed himſelf in the houſe in favour of the bill.

noble

noble friend emancipated his eloquence for one quarter of an hour, and he ſpoke, rather in behalf of the bill, as a man, and as a biſhop---ſome may think as a prophet alſo; for, in the courſe of his ſpeech, he wiſhed to have ſeen the bill ſooner in the ſeſſion, that parliament might not only have had time to conſider it, but to know the general diſpoſition of the nation before it paſſed into a law: he held it to be worthy their Lordſhips' attention not only to look into the real ſecurity of the conſtitution, but to prevent alarms of imaginary danger with which ignorance and malice had theretofore kindled, and might again kindle, ſuch a flame, as the authority of law might find it difficult to extinguiſh.---But the Marquis of Rockingham and Lord Shelburne, deaf even to their friend's advice, were violent in ſupport of the bill, which was read a ſecond time without further oppoſition or debate.

Yet, by theſe proteſtant cruſaders, Lord Sandwich and many other lords (as we ſhall too ſoon ſee) who took no part whatever in the bill, were attacked with an apparent intention of putting them to death; and the Biſhop of Lincoln, who, at the time the bill was paſſed, did not ſo much as ſit in parliament, bore no higher rank than that of a ſimple clergyman, was only not torn in pieces like the De Witts in 1672. The only crime of which he could have been guilty, was being the brother of one of the firmeſt, manlieſt characters in the kingdom.

Pauſe here, my countrymen, for a moment. Conſider with yourſelves, whether this bill was the ſource of all the late miſrule, uproar, violence, anarchy and confuſion.

Hoc fonte derivata clades
In patriam populumque fluxit?

Perhaps not. Perhaps the torrent, which almoſt overwhelmed us, flowed from a fountain ſtill more fatal.---Should your opinions lead you to think otherwiſe, to imagine the inviſible ſpring of this (not fruitful) Nile is none other than Sir George Savile's bill---ſuffer not thoſe very men, who begot, fathered, nurſed and reared this very bill, in a few days to accuſe miniſtry of all they themſelves have brought upon us. Miniſtry, as has been ſhown, ſtirred not a little finger in the buſineſs. It was puſhed and hurried on through both houſes, with both hands, by men of a different deſcription.

Once more Lord George Gordon calls our attention to his language in the Houſe of Commons.---He, who tells us to-day, that we ſhall receive to-morrow a preſent of a particular nature, is more likely (ſince prophets live not in every ſtreet) to have a hand in the preſent, than he by whom it was never mentioned. ---Mr. Almon certainly informs us, that, in the debate on the addreſs to his Majeſty for the ſpeech from the throne, November the 26th, 1778, Lord G. Gordon held this language in oppoſition to the addreſs: "Will gentlemen anſwer that the people ſhall pay more taxes without a revolt at home? I mention the poſſibility of a revolt at home, becauſe our conſtituents have borne much already. They have been patient and long-ſuffering. They have had a ſucceſsful example in their fellow ſubjects of America, who have revolted from the expenſive government of England, to the protection

protection of a wiſe and virtuous Congreſs. Yet, I ſee no proſpect of a real change, for I do not hear, or know, that the people are about to chooſe a congreſs, or to proclaim a protector. When the people ſhow an inclination to demand redreſs, I will accompany them with the greateſt pleaſure. I am afraid I ſpeak too loud, ſo as to give an appearance of paſſion to what, I aſſure the houſe, are my moſt deliberate ſentiments. I hope to ſee you riſe, Mr. Speaker, on the ſame ſide, which will reflect honour on yourſelf, on the houſe, and on the dignity of the people,---whom God preſerve!"---There is indeed, in this ſpeech, a phraſe borrowed from religion, and it concludes with a prayer, but he, who ſhould ſay it contains ſomething elſe beſides religion, would not be a hard man; any more than he, who ſhould think that a few, out of forty thouſand men by whom ſuch a declaimer's heels are lackeyed, wiſh for ſomething elſe beſides a repeal of an obnoxious act of parliament.

On the 10th of December, 1778, Mr. Fox moved the Houſe of Commons to have ſuch Roman Catholics as had ſubſcribed the teſt contained in Sir George Savile's bill, exempted from paying double land-tax. The motion was ſeconded by Lord Beauchamp. It was oppoſed by Mr. Herbert, Sir Grey Cooper, Lord North. Mr. Burke warmly ſupported it, and Mr. Fox ſpoke again with ſome ſeverity. The queſtion was loſt without a diviſion.---Again, this is not miniſtry. Miniſtry, here, not only threw no weight into the Roman Catholic ſcale, but threw all their weight into the proteſtant ſcale; and it preponderated. It

was

was not then the proteſtant religion which filled Downing-ſtreet with blue cockades.---

While the Roman Catholics of England were enjoying the effects of this relaxation of the penal laws in their favour, their brethren of Scotland naturally turned their thoughts to procure a ſimilar relaxation for themſelves; a relaxation to which they certainly had an equal claim. But ſo did not think the Proteſtants of the North; where Lord G. Gordon is then ſaid to have been, and where perhaps he conceived ſchemes, the ſweets of which we have ſince taſted.

In 1637, the Dean of Edinburgh was ſaluted with a cry of *A Pope! A Pope! Antichriſt! Stone him!* And the treacherous, the cruel, the unrelenting Philip, accompanied with all the terrors of a Spaniſh inquiſition, was ſcarcely, during the preceding century, oppoſed in the Low Countries with more determined fury, than was at that period by the Scotch, the mild, the humane Charles, attended with his inoffenſive liturgy *.---In 1779, Scotland ſet us the example of tumult and violence, and obligingly ſent a commander to head us.

The idea of an unlimited toleration of the Romiſh religion had been artfully made to excite an alarm in the minds of many of the Scotch. The party in the church for this toleration were ſanguine, and perhaps unpopular. The party againſt it had many ſcruples and difficulties, and were what is called the favourites of the people. The colliſion in the views of theſe parties was a ſource of diſcontent. It is poſſible, that

* King's Decl. p. 23, 24, 25. Ruſhworth, vol. ii. p. 388. Hume, ch. 54.

the influence of the former had the effect to impoſe on government with regard to the facility of the meaſure; it is certain, that the weight and interference of the latter ſerved to heighten the zeal of the populace. Biſhop Hay publiſhed many treatiſes and books of controverſy.

On Sunday the 31ſt of January 1779, late in the evening, a copy of an incendiary letter, calling the people to oppoſition, was communicated to one of the magiſtrates *. Next morning he went very early to the Lord Provoſt, and laid it before him. A meeting of the magiſtrates and the Deacon Convener of the trades was ſoon after holden in the Goldſmiths Hall. It was reſolved to apply to General Skene to deſire that the Fencibles under the Duke of Buccleugh ſhould be in readineſs to act on the ſhorteſt notice. And, that the wideſt preparation againſt danger might be made, the Convener was ordered to meet the deacons of the different incorporations, to take care that every tradeſman and mechanic ſhould prohibit his journeymen, apprentices, and ſervants from appearing in the ſtreets, and from giving aſſiſtance in any

* This letter was in theſe words:

Men and Brethren,

" Whoever ſhall find this letter will take as a warning to meet at " Leith Wynd on Wedneſday next, in the evening, to pull down that " Pillar of Popery lately erected there. A PROTESTANT. *Edin.* " *January*, 29, 1779.

" *P. S.* Pleaſe to read this carefully, keep it clean, and drop it " ſomewhere elſe. *For King and Country*, UNITY."

Addreſſed on the back thus: " *To every Proteſtant into whoſe hands* " *this letter ſhall come, greeting.*"

mob

mob or inſurrection. It was reſolved, at the ſame time, that the magiſtrates ſhould go to Fortune's tavern, as the moſt centrical part of the town, and oppoſite to the city-guard houſe; and that the city-guard ſhould patrole the ſtreets, with a view to give the earlieſt information of any tumult. Theſe different reſolutions were all carried into execution. And ſome of the magiſtrates even took the precaution to go to different places to make their obſervations. Every thing, however, was yet in quietneſs.

Upon Tueſday, the 2d of February, the firſt ſymptoms of a riot were perceived between the hours of four and five o'clock in the afternoon. A circle of boys had aſſembled about the New Chapel, or what they called the Pillar of Popery, and were behaving in a tumultuous manner. The Lord Provoſt, being at this time in his own houſe, was immediately informed of this circumſtance; and, with the magiſtrates and the city-guard, he haſtened to the Chapel, which was now attacked by the rioters, who were increaſing in numbers. They had entered into a houſe in connection with the chapel. His Lordſhip had received a private intimation, that the Popiſh bill would be dropped. He addreſſed the rioters, gave them an aſſurance to this purpoſe, intreated them to deſiſt from all violence. They ſeemed to be pacified, and were ſoon diſperſed. On this occaſion there was little or no damage done to the building, and no accident happened, except a blow on the face received by one of the magiſtrates from a ſtone, which cut him ſo much that he was obliged to go home. After the mob was thus diſperſed, every thing was perfectly quiet;

quiet; not ſo much as one rioter remained. Twenty ſoldiers, with a captain of the city-guard, however, were left at this place for its protection, and orders were given for a reinforcement, if neceſſary.

The magiſtrates were now informed, that another popiſh chapel, which is ſituated in Blackfriars wynd, had been attacked. To this place they proceeded immediately; and a party of the Fencibles, which had been called, arrived in time to prevent any material damage in a diviſion of the town where a fire muſt have been attended with the worſt conſequences.

While the Magiſtrates and Fencibles were engaged in this buſineſs, the mob had returned to the New Chapel, and were increaſed to a great force. The guard left for its protection was overpowered; the reinforcement which had been ordered was endeavouring in vain to effect a junction; multitudes of rioters were ruſhing into the city from the country and the ſuburbs; intelligence was come that other places of the town were in danger. A general alarm now prevailed. The ſhop of Mr. M'Donald, a Papiſt in the Canongate, was attacked; and that of Mr. Lockhart, a Papiſt in the head of the Cowgate, was alſo expoſed to the fury of the rioters. Theſe ſhops were in different extremities of the town. The college on the South was in danger; and, on the North, the New Chapel was again aſſaulted.

Parties of ſoldiers were diſpatched, with the utmoſt expedition, to the houſes of M'Donald and Lockhart; they arrived in time to prevent any conſiderable damage. The college was protected by a ſtrength that was more than ſufficient for any diſturbance that was

there. The Magiſtrates again poſted themſelves, with a detachment of the Fencibes, at the New Chapel, where the mob was ſtrongeſt and moſt violent.

This chapel was the object of greateſt deteſtation to the rioters, and they had determined to deſtroy it. To prevent their attempt was an object of anxious ſolicitude to the Magiſtrates. One of them, with this view, propoſed that an additional number of Fencibles ſhould go down the narrow lane which leads to it. But an officer, who either had, or pretended to have the direction of this party, abſolutely refuſed to comply with the command of the Magiſtrate. This officer ſaid, that he did not chooſe to draw his men into a ſituation, where they might be killed with ſtones. The magiſtrate inſiſted, that the experiment ſhould be made, and agreed to expoſe himſelf to every hazard. The officer refuſed abſolutely to act in the buſineſs. If this party had acted properly, it is probable the burning of the chapel would have been prevented.

The Fencibles being thus in a ſtate of inactivity at the entrance to the chapel, it was obſerved, that they might be able to perform ſome ſervice by marching to Leith wynd. This movement was effected; but the town-wall being between the Fencibles and the chapel, no ſteps of any conſequence could be taken. A few rioters were prevented from getting over the wall to join their aſſociates; and, no other duty being practicable, it was unneceſſary to continue longer in this ſtation.

By this time fire had been ſet to the ground-ſtory of the New Chapel; and the timber works of the upper flats

ſlats had been beaten down to make it rage with the greater fury. Though the Fencibles, therefore, were now joined by an additional party, under the Duke of Buccleugh, it did not appear that an effectual ſtop could be put to it. The water-engines had been brought down by command of the magiſtrates; but it was impoſſible to get them wrought with efficacy. For the populace, who are generally ſo uſeful in extinguiſhing fires, were afraid, in this inſtance, of being ſuſpected of popery, and exerted themſelves to fruſtrate their application. Upon this occaſion a few priſoners were ſeized and lodged in the Caſtle, where they remained till they were liberated by the Lord Advocate and by the ſheriff of the county of Edinburgh.

While theſe ſcenes were acting, the Lord Provoſt, attentive to diſcharge every part of his duty, had called for the aſſiſtance of the Lord Advocate; they were deliberating in Mr. Fortune's tavern on the meaſures that were moſt proper, and waiting the event of the rage of the mob. After the chapel was conſumed, and the roof had fallen in, it was obſerved that the rioters were about to diſperſe. But it was judged, that they would not totally diſappear while the troops remained in the ſtreets. It was, on this account, the opinion of the Lord Advocate, the Lord Provoſt, and the other perſons in conſultation with them, that the whole body of the Fencibles ſhould be marched up to the Caſtlehill; but that they ſhould remain there a conſiderable time under arms. A diviſion of the magiſtrates, in the mean time, went through the ſtreets; and though they did not leave them till four o'clock in

the morning, they could perceive no diſturbance. The city-guard were alſo going rounds, and agreed in the notion that all was quiet.

It was now imagined that the rioters were ſatisfied; and that, as they had deſtroyed the Pillar of Popery, no more tumults would enſue. But, between the hours of eight and nine o'clock in the morning (Wedneſday, 3d of February), intelligence was brought to the city-guard, that the dwelling-houſe connected with the Popiſh Chapel in Blackfriars wynd was aſſaulted. A party of ſoldiers were inſtantly diſpatched to the place. It was diſcovered that the mob had got into the houſe, and carried off a number of books, ſome houſehold furniture, and clothes. One or two women were apprehended, who had poſſeſſed themſelves of three ſhirts, a ſilk curtain, and ſome books. The mob was diſperſed, and a guard was left to protect the houſe.

Theſe beginnings of a riot gave the promiſe of future miſchief; and the Magiſtrates determined to take every poſſible precaution for the defence and protection of the inhabitants. They conſulted, upon this occaſion, the Lord Juſtice Clerk, the Lord Advocate, the Solicitor General, and the ſheriff of the county; and they were honoured with their direction and advice. A letter was written to Sir Adolphus Oughton for the uſe of a detachment of dragoons, and two of the Magiſtrates waited upon him to know his reſolution, and to explain the ſituation of affairs in the town. His aſſiſtance was immediately given; and a body of dragoons was called from Muſſelburgh and Dalkeith. A proclamation was made through the town, intimating,

ing, that if outrageous procedings were continued, the ſoldiers would receive orders to fire, and intreating the inhabitants to keep within their houſes, and not to join with the rioters. The printers of the different news-papers were ſent for and admoniſhed not to publiſh any matter which might tend to promote tumults. Orders were iſſued to the maſter of the merchant company, and his aſſiſtants, to the convener and deacons of the crafts, to the captains, lieutenants, and enſigns of the Trained Bands, to the fire-maſters, and their reſpective companies, to the conſtables, the bailies of the ſuburbs, and the city officers, enjoining them to aſſemble in the places fixed for their attendance on the occaſion of public commotions. And the Provoſt and Magiſtrates took the reſolution to attend themſelves in Mr. Fortune's tavern, to be in readineſs to act with expedition and vigour.

It is impoſſible to conceive that meaſures could be taken with more attention. In the evening the ſtreets were guarded with dragoons. A ſtrong party of the Fencibles marched from the caſtle. Troops were poſted in the College to protect Principal Robertſon, the windows of whoſe houſe had received ſome damage, and to be at hand to move to Nicolſon's Square, where ſome exploit was apprehended. The deacons of the trades, the officers of the trained bands, the fire-maſters, and the city-guard, were all patrolling the ſtreets.

The apprehenſions were every where much greater than the danger. There were no diſturbances where they were expected to be moſt violent. New attacks were made on the houſes of Macdonald and Lockhart.

A little additional injury was done to theſe. But the

the mob every where gave way to the troops; and nineteen rioters having been ſecured, were conveyed to the Caſtle.

The magiſtrates were engaged in their duty 'till two o'clock in the morning; and before they parted, a proclamation was prepared by them to prevent the continuance of the diſturbances. They had now received certain information that the popiſh bill was to be dropped. Of this fact they expreſſed in their proclamation the fulleſt aſſurance, they forbade all tumultuous aſſemblies of the people, and threatened the laſt ſeverities to thoſe who ſhould riſe up to break the peace, and inſult the laws. The moſt effectual and the moſt expeditious methods were uſed to circulate this proclamation.

During Thurſday the ſame precautions for the public ſafety were taken; but no ferments aroſe. The people had returned to tranquillity. *---

On the concluſion of theſe riots we muſt return to England.---March the 15th, 1779, the Lord Advocate for Scotland having taken his ſeat for the firſt time this ſeſſion, Mr. Wilkes reminded him of a bill for the relief of the Scottiſh Roman Catholics, which his Lordſhip pledged himſelf in the laſt ſeſſion to have ready at the beginning of this; and hoped he was then come down to the houſe to fulfil his parliamentary engagement. The Lord Advocate ſaid he had conſulted the principal Roman Catholics of Scotland, who had agreed it would be better to wait 'till the preſent unhappy prejudices againſt them ſhould be re-

* A narrative of the late riots at Edinburgh. London printed, 1779.

moved.

moved. Mr. Wilkes made a warm ſpeech in reply, and obſerved that the Scottiſh mobs had ſet examples of a fatal nature to the mobs of London.—Still, if theſe parliamentary proceedings in favour of the Roman Catholics have, in the ſmalleſt degree, produced the late diſturbances, miniſtry cannot be accuſed of either propoſing or ſupporting them.

Mr. Burke, on the 18th of March, told the houſe he had a petition to preſent from ſeveral of his Majeſty's Roman Catholic ſubjects of North Britain. Lord Lorth acquainted the houſe, that his Majeſty recommended it to their conſideration. The petition gave an account of their late ſufferings and perſecutions, begged they might be taken into the protection of the houſe for their future ſafety, and humbly entreated ſome compenſation for their loſſes. Mr. Burke, Lord Beauchamp and Mr. Fox ſpoke in favour of the petition; Lord G. Gordon againſt it. Lord North ſaid he preferred voluntary before compulſary compenſation; he underſtood all due recompence was intended by the magiſtrates of the different diſtricts wherein the miſchiefs were committed; he thought it prudent to defer any further proceedings 'till the reſult of their meaſures ſhould be known; and he moved the previous queſtion, which was carried without a diviſion.---So that, from the firſt to the laſt ſtep, either attempted to be taken or really taken by parliament, in favour of the Roman Catholics, no one is to be aſcribed to miniſtry.

On the 5th of May, 1779, the houſe, having diſpatched a great deal of private buſineſs, was preparing to riſe, when Lord G. Gordon ſurprized them with a

ſpeech

ſpeech reſpecting the diſpoſition of Scotland, which he deſcribed as ripe for rebellion; he affirmed that the inhabitants fit to bear arms, a few Roman Catholics excepted, were ready to reſiſt government; and that they had invited him to be their leader---that they would prefer death before religious ſlavery, and periſh with arms in their hands or prevail in the conteſt. His Lordſhip read two motions; but, as no member ſeconded them, the Speaker could take no notice of them.

On June 2, 1779, Lord G. Gordon informed the houſe of the victory the kirk of Scotland had lately gained over Popery.---Proceed we now to deſcribe the victory gained by Lord G. Gordon's blue cockades over Law, Religion, and Humanity, on that very day twelvemonth (June the 2d, 1780), and the following days.—

At what time the fatal idea of acting the Scottiſh tragedy in England (with the addition of ſcenes ſtill more bloody), and of being himſelf the hero of the piece, firſt entered into the wild, but dangerous, head of Lord G. Gordon, it is not very poſſible, and, were it poſſible, it is not neceſſary, to know. Of the conſequences no one doubts. We can believe our eyes when they ſee the dwellings of harmleſs individuals, and the buildings ſet apart for the confinement of malefactors, and the manſion of one of the firſt law officers in the kingdom, conſumed by intentional conflagration---when they behold, and behold with gratitude, thoſe ſoldiers patrolling our ſtreets, by whom alone our properties, our lives, our country have

have been preſerved. The peaceable inhabitants of London have not yet forgotten the mental hell with all the torments of which they were tortured for almoſt a week.

It is probable, however, that the idea was firſt taken up, in the beginning of the year 1779, when his Lordſhip was an eye-witneſs of the effect a cry of religion had upon the populace of Scotland. Fewer abilities, than thoſe (unhappily for this country) poſſeſſed by Lord G. Gordon, might diſcover that what had collected and inflamed a number of people in one part of an iſland, would collect and inflame a number of people in another part.

At the motives for Lord George's conduct, the writer of theſe pages has too much decency and too much humanity even to gueſs. They, with other matters, remain for the inſulted juſtice of an injured nation. Let him, by whom we have all ſo dearly ſuffered, be ſtill treated as a fellow-creature, as a fellow-countryman. Lord George Gordon cannot be prejudged by relating ſimple facts.---The wretch, who has eſcaped from the ruins of a wreck, may ſurely be allowed, even by the ſpirit of darkneſs who conjured up the winds, the melancholy conſolation of deſcribing the approach of the tempeſt, his feelings while it laſted, and the mode of his eſcape.

By looking carefully over the public papers, a minute and moſt edifying hiſtory of the Proteſtant Aſſociation might be got together---how the egg was carefully hatched and hatched and hatched, 'till, at laſt, it produced the ſerpent---how they firſt met in allies, then in alehouſes and then in halls; 'till,

finally, not poſſeſſing the ſecret of Milton's Devils by which Pandæmonium was made to contain them all, they were obliged to aſſemble under the wide cope of heaven. But the writer has no more inclination to go through ſuch drudgery, than the reader to peruſe the produce of it.

Every man's memory can inform him of the induſtry with which the Proteſtant Aſſociation has been nurſed during more than fifteen months. Whole columns of newſpapers have been filled with their reſolutions: every diuretic hole and corner of our ſtreets has been papered with their hand-bills. One of their meetings, holden at the Old Crown and Rolls in Chancery-lane four or five months ſince, the writer of this narrative attended. It had been poſtponed on account of the death of Lord George's mother. On the day of the meeting, the Dutcheſs of Gordon had not been dead much more than a week, if ſo much. The room, though large, was conſiderably too ſmall for the aſſembly. There did not appear to be a ſingle individual among them, who bore the appearance of any thing like a gentleman, that was led thither by any thing but curioſity. The buſineſs of the meeting was to ſettle about waiting upon Lord North to requeſt he would ſupport their petition. The puritanical head of hair of the Preſident; lank, without curl or powder---his mild, quiet, calm tone of voice (for that evening, at leaſt)---his deep mourning---the recollection of the recent cauſe of his mourning---an artful glance at the cauſe of it in the few words his Lordſhip ſaid: all theſe circumſtances could not fail to affect ſuch a meeting when they beheld and heard ſuch a man,

man, who, for the purpoſe of forwarding the public cauſe of religion, had, in ſome meaſure, neglected the duties of private affection, and deſerted the tomb which had hardly cloſed over the corſe of her who bare him. An indifferent perſon, inſpired neither by enthuſiaſm nor by treaſon, could not be without his feelings. Had matters been riper for execution, it was a moment for a Cromwell, with the waving of his hand, to have overturned an empire. Notwithſtanding what we have ſeen, and what too many of us have experienced, the aſſembly, the holy army, in St. George's fields, would have been worked up to a pitch ſtill more fatal, if poſſible, to this country, had the mother of their general died at the latter end of May.

The ſchemes of Lord George were much forwarded during the year 1779, and the five paſt months of the preſent year, and the miſchiefs primarily cauſed by thoſe ſchemes were not a little occaſioned, by the ſpirit for public ſpeaking, which has for ſome years kept open a certain number of debating ſocieties, and which has lately become the marking feature of the times. It was poſſible to forward theſe ſchemes at ſpeaking-clubs where religion was not ſuffered to be diſcuſſed: but debating-clubs have, for ſome years, been open on Sunday nights for the profeſſed purpoſe of religious arguments. At one alehouſe in particular, nearly oppoſite St. Martin's church in the Strand, the author of this has, more than once, paid his fourpence, and heard harangues in favour of the Proteſtant and the Roman Catholic religions (for that was almoſt always the ſubject about which they began to debate, or into

which they digreſſed) that he little thought were ever to end in ruin, maſſacre and deſolation. Within theſe few months this ſociety may have paſſed away, for any thing the writer knows. But every reader knows, that it's place has been ſupplied by many other ſocieties, and religious ones too, ſo much more dangerous by how much more they have been frequented. Of theſe places the adherents to Lord George have certainly all along taken their advantage. No leſs, certainly, have men of another deſcription inflamed the minds of people at theſe meetings---miſcreants, either procured by oppoſition, who ſaw that, when Lord George's frenzy ſhould be at the higheſt, it might be the moment to overthrow miniſtry; or inſpired by the treaſon or the money of the Americans, or hired by France or by Spain, to all of whom it muſt have been manifeſt, that Lord George, whatever were his own views, might become an inſtrument which would, more than poſſibly, enable them to overthrow this country.

Upon theſe debating ſocieties, whether religious or not, theſe fruitful nurſeries of idleneſs, impiety and treaſon, it is, now at leaſt, become neceſſary for government to keep a jealous eye. Every frequenter of them has been accuſtomed to depart, convinced that the faithful were to look for the coming of a Cromwell; even female orators have experienced the inſtigations of the ſpirit; and the harmleſs apprentice, the weigher of figs or the meaſurer of ribbon, whoſe ſoul, nailed, like a bad ſhilling, to his maſter's counter, could not ſoar ſo high as treaſon, ſtill paſſed the night in rehearſing harangues which began with Mr Speaker, and waſted the day (the property of his maſter)

ſter) in conſidering what party he ſhould ſupport when he ſhould take his ſeat in the houſe.

During all this time Lord George's language in parliament can have eſcaped no perſon who has attended to the debates; and muſt, beyond a doubt, have ſerved to encourage the enemies of our country; who, it is repeated, muſt be divided into men, for nine or ten years, inflamed and ſpirited up by oppoſition, for their own views and purpoſes, by frequent talk, in the very temples of the conſtitution, of appeals to the people; and men either in the intereſt or the pay of America, France and Spain. Theſe traitors, without ſeeing far, ſaw plainly that a man who would voluntarily expoſe himſelf by language and by conduct ſo daring and ſo ridiculous, who ſeemed to have put away from him all ſenſe of ſhame, and all fear of danger, was the man to heat the iron of inſurrection for thoſe who wiſhed no more than the ruin of miniſtry, and the iron of rebellion for thoſe who deſired the ruin of the nation; and that they had, none of them, any thing more to do, than to take care their different adherents and hirelings ſtood ready and properly armed to hammer the irons, before they ſhould cool, into the wiſhed-for ſhapes.

It is a fact that an officer, who came over in the ſame ſhip which brought the agreeable intelligence from General Sir Henry Clinton, told his friends that the American rebels, when he left the country, were only kept together by the promiſe of aſſiſtance from France and Spain, and by the aſſurance that London and its inhabitants would very ſoon be deſtroyed in an inſurrection. This might, it is true, have been only a

prophecy

prophecy hazarded at the moment, without the moſt diſtant proſpect of completion, in order to rouze the minds of a deluded and deſpondent body of rebels. We remember, four or five years ſince, when they were taught to believe that Mr. Alderman Wilkes was encamped on Blackheath with an army big enough to eat up London.---Such a report, however, univerſally prevailing, ſhews the good wiſhes of the Americans. It certainly had ſuch an effect on the officer's mind, who is not accuſtomed to pin more faith upon reports than other men, that, when he was aſked if it did not ſurprize him to find the metropolis in ſuch confuſion and diſtreſs? He immediately anſwered, No; for he expected to ſee ſomething very much like it.---

The artful, inſinuating, dangerous language in which the advertiſements of the Proteſtant aſſociation were drawn up, may be gathered from a peruſal of what follows. This, and many others, coined at the ſame mint, appear rather to bear the image and ſuperſcription of Oliver's fanatical days, than of an age which, till the ſecond of this month, we fondly perſuaded ourſelves deſerved the epithets of liberal and philoſophical.

"This is to give notice, That, in compliance with a petition addreſſed to the Preſident, the Committee have reſolved that there ſhall be another general meeting of the Proteſtants before the London petition is preſented to the Houſe of Commons.

"The petition will not be preſented this week, but will be kept till towards the cloſe of this ſeſſion of parliament, to give time for ſimilar petitions from other parts of England, Wales, and Scotland, to be preſented before it.

"All

" All the true friends of Great Britain, and of civil and religious liberty, are exhorted to unite in ſupport of the Proteſtant intereſt before it is too late; for unanimity and firmneſs in that glorious cauſe can alone protect us from the dangerous confederacy of Popiſh powers. If we unite, like one man, for the honour of God, and the liberties of the people, we may yet experience the bleſſing of Divine Providence on this kingdom, and love and confidence may again be reſtored amongſt brethren. But if we continue obſtinate in errors, and ſpread idolatry and corruption through the land, we have nothing to expect but diviſion among the people, diſtraction in the Senate, and diſcontent in our camps, with all the other calamities attendant on thoſe nations whom God has delivered over to arbitrary power and Deſpotiſm.

Welbeck-ſtreet,
London, May 8. G. GORDON, Preſident.

" Thoſe of London and its environs who wiſh the repeal of the late Popiſh Bill, are deſired to ſign the Proteſtant Petition, which they may have acceſs to at the Preſident's houſe in Welbeck-ſtreet, every day before four o'clock."

Matters now began to grow here (what we have heard Lord George tell the houſe they were, at the time he ſpoke, in Scotland) ripe for inſurrection. On the evening of the 29th of May 1779, a meeting of the Proteſtant aſſociation was holden at Coachmakers-Hall. At ſeven, Lord G. Gordon took the chair; when he harangued the aſſembly, concerning the effects produced by the Scotch tumults, and reſpecting his own determination to go all lengths with them, in ſuch language as the writer thinks it would be nei-

ther decent nor candid to mention in this place. His Lordſhip concluded with moving that the whole body of the Proteſtant aſſociation ſhould attend him in St. George's Fields on the Friday following, to accompany him to the Houſe of Commons with their petition. This was carried with the greateſt applauſe; and Lord George is ſaid to have finiſhed with telling them, that, if fewer than twenty thouſand Proteſtants attended him on the Friday, he ſhould conclude he had been deceived with regard to the general wiſh of the people, and ſhould not think of troubling the Houſe with the petition.

Whether Lord George had his views for appointing Saint George's Fields as the place of rendezvous, it is not poſſible to ſay. If there were any men, as there certainly muſt have been ſome, among his Lordſhip's followers, hurried away by the impetus of honeſt but miſguided enthuſiaſm, it will not ſurely be deemed whimſical to ſay, the ardour of their enthuſiaſm was not much cooled by aſſembling in fields called after a ſaint by whoſe name their leader was chriſtened. A mind, not very weak, might ſurely, from this circumſtance, couple the idea and the ſpirit of martyrdom with its religious apprehenſions.

With whatever view, St. George's Fields was the ſpot appointed for their meeting; and the following advertiſement, which, from the evils it occaſioned, few readers will peruſe without a ſhudder, appeared in the papers of the 30th of May.

PRO-

PROTESTANT ASSOCIATION.

WHEREAS no hall in London can contain FORTY THOUSAND MEN;

Reſolved, That this Aſſociation do meet on Friday next, June 2, in St. George's Fields, at ten o'clock in the morning, to conſider of the moſt prudent and reſpectful manner of attending their Petition, which will be preſented the ſame day, to the Houſe of Commons.

Reſolved, for the ſake of good order and regularity, That this Aſſociation, on coming to the ground, do ſeparate themſelves into four diſtinct diviſions, viz. the London diviſion, the Weſtminſter diviſion, the Southwark diviſion, and the Scotch diviſion.

Reſolved, That the London diviſion do take place upon the right of the ground towards Southwark, the Weſtminſter diviſion ſecond, the Southwark diviſion third, and the Scotch diviſion upon the left—all wearing blue cockades in their hats, to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the Papiſts, and thoſe who approve of the late act in favour of Popery.

Reſolved, That the Magiſtrates of London, Weſtminſter and Southwark are requeſted to attend, that their preſence may overawe and controul any riotous or evil minded perſons, who may wiſh to diſturb the legal and peaceable deportment of his Majeſty's Proteſtant ſubjects.

By order of the Aſſociation,

London,
May 29, 1780. G. GORDON, PRESIDENT.

About this fatal advertiſement much will now be ſaid. When the evil is overpaſt, he is a ſingular man who does not know how it might have been prevented. After the ramparts have been ſcaled in the night, the

meaneſt individual in the garriſon can aſk why that part of the fortifications was not better defended. Here, however, there appears to have been ſomething obvious and ſtriking. Thoſe chriſtian days of meekneſs and goodwill, of brotherly love and all charitableneſs, are not yet arrived, when forty thouſand Engliſhmen, with blue cockades in their hats, can aſſemble peaceably, for no other purpoſe than to meet and kiſs each other in the ſtreets. This advertiſement was in the poſſeſſion of the public, and conſequently of Government, from the morning of the 30th of May to the time of the meeting which it announced on the 2d of June---three whole days, and three whole nights.

" It is true," exclaims a reader who calls himſelf a patriot, " moſt true---and are ſuch men to be truſted " with the government of a country? Why was not " notice taken of it in the houſe? Why was not " Lord George taken into cuſtody? Why was not a " proclamation publiſhed forbidding the aſſembly? " Why were not the military ordered to London? " Why were not the military, or, at leaſt, peace- " officers, placed in St. George's Fields, on the ſe- " cond of June, to diſperſe the firſt appearances of " a mob?"

Sir, your queſtions are rather numerous, and rather quickly put; yet one word will anſwer them all---OPPOSITION. Granted, that, of the ſteps, about the neglect of which you queſtion, ſome might undoubtedly have been taken. Granted, that government muſt have foreſeen miſchief.---Nay, it is a fact, that a gentleman, who came to England within theſe few days, was in a French coffeehouſe not long before he

he went on board, where an Engliſh paper was produced containing Lord G. Gordon's advertiſement. A Frenchman, upon reading it, ſat down his diſh of coffee, fixed his eye on the corner of the cieling, ſtroked his chin, and, calculating ſimply upon his knowledge of mankind and of the Engliſh nation (the writer does not ſuppoſe every man he mentions to be concerned in a plot), obſerved---" Ah, forty thouſand men---then we may expect the news of the deſtruction of the bank of England in about nine days."

It ſhall be granted, if our deciſive patriot ſo pleaſe, that the ſame knowledge of mankind and of the Engliſh nation which enabled a foreigner to deliver a prophecy ſo dreadful, a prophecy that was only not completed; might have inſpired miniſtry with ſomething like prevention, with ſomething like precaution, if not for our ſakes, at leaſt for their own. It ſhall be granted, to fall in with our patriot's ideas, and more he cannot deſire us to grant, that government, during the fearful moment of ſtillneſs which preceded the earthquake, were undecided, irreſolute, timid. And he ſhall have leave to blame government; when he can point out any ſett of men, who, in a ſimilar moment, would not have been timid, irreſolute, undecided.

But the ſhaking of William Tell's hand, and his doubt how to hold his bow, and his changing more than once the poſture of his body before he diſcharged the arrow, proceeded not from any apprehenſion of not being able to hit an apple at a greater diſtance than that, if hanging on a tree; his ſenſations were occaſioned by the apple's being placed upon the head

of his child.---Government had no doubts, could have no doubts, about the poſſibility, the facility of preventing any meeting in St. George's Fields; but they had apprehenſions and fears of oppoſition, for the ſake of their country; and, as oppoſition have themſelves ſhown, juſt fears and juſt apprehenſions. Had this country not been bleſt with ſuch an oppoſition, it would not have been lately curſt with ſuch convulſions.

Does the reader recollect what was ſaid in the houſe of commons, a very ſhort time before theſe troubles, only in conſequence of a *report* that the guards were, from apprehenſions of a riot, ordered to be in readineſs on the 6th of April? Were men who made ſuch an attack upon government likely to come into any ſcheme to *ſuppreſs* riots? Was aſſiſtance to be expected in the other houſe, members whereof, after theſe riots began, accuſed the very Lords who ſtood before them (tattered, half-killed inſtances of the rage of the mob), of having procured that very mob, by whom they, and they only, I think (the miniſterial Lords), had been thus treated?

Where is the bold man who would have dared to think of the military? Does the reader recollect the ſpot where the military muſt have been uſed? St. George's Fields is tender ground, as Lord George perhaps recollected when he determined to rendezvous there.---What could three or four dozen of conſtables have done againſt forty thouſand men?---The King of Pruſſia is ſaid to have boaſted of what he could do here, with his army, and forty or fifty executioners.

Had

Had this great man himſelf, on the 30th of laſt month, been Frederick Lord North, inſtead of Frederick King of Pruſſia, the 2d of June would ſtill have come and found him undecided, irreſolute, timid. Tho' his perſonal courage, as it, no doubt, did elſewhere, would have forbidden perſonal apprehenſion; he muſt have feared for his country, with which he, and all good men might have fallen---he muſt have recollected the frequent threats of oppoſition concerning appeals to the people---he muſt have ſeen the poſſibility of their making that appeal to Lord George's forty thouſand men---he muſt have determined to be cautious how he ſupplied them with an excuſe for ſuch an appeal; to be careful not to offend forty thouſand men to whom ſuch appeal might be made.

If, after the ſingular moderation ſhown by government, and the unexceptionable manner (as will be made appear) in which government has ſuppreſſed the tumults, theſe movers of miſchief, and ſtirrers of faction, ſhould attack the members of Government, in their uſual manner, for conduct, which not only deſerves, but poſſeſſes, the praiſes and the thanks of every *real* Engliſhman; then, my countrymen, you will form your own judgments whether the ſervants of government have been juſtly undecided, have been juſtly irreſolute, have been juſtly timid. Or, if you think their accuſers, inſtead of having been (more or leſs intentionally) the promoters of theſe riots, could have quelled them, or did, any one of them, contribute or endeavour to quell them---in that caſe, join the pack in their full cry; follow the object of your ſcent, whitherſoever it may lead you; and, ſince you have lately

had

had ſo complete a ſpecimen, ſtop not, though they ſhould even cheer you on to another *appeal to the people.*

That appeal to the people, the advantages whereof we have experienced, and the effects whereof are now to be related, took place on the 2d of June, agreeably to Lord George's advertiſement. About eleven o'clock his Lordſhip found his adherents expecting him in St. George's Fields, with cockades and flags; and keeping up the ſpirit of enthuſiaſm by ſinging hymns and pſalms. The mixture of ſenſations in Lord George's mind, whatever were his real ſchemes, will not make him envied by many. A gentleman of his Lordſhip's acquaintance, is ſaid to have called in Welbeck-ſtreet on Friday morning, not long before "the acting of the dreadful thing," and to have found him at breakfaſt. On the table lay his hat, with an immenſe blue cockade in it; and near it, a drawn ſword.

Lord George, after haranguing for a few minutes in language adapted to the occaſion, and pointing out what routs they ſhould take, retired in a coach. The aſſembly divided into three troops, or rather armies---one marched over London-bridge, ſix a-breaſt, preceded by the petition borne on a man's head; another over Blackfriars-bridge; another over Weſtminſter-bridge. Between two and three o'clock they were all aſſembled in the ſtreets and open places near the houſes of Parliament.

The buſineſs of the day, in the upper houſe, was a motion of the Duke of Richmond's, upon which their Lordſhips were ſummoned. His Grace ſaid, he

would proceed in his motion, notwithſtanding the tumults at their doors by which many members were prevented from entering the houſe, becauſe, were all the members preſent, they would all, he truſted, agree to the bringing in of the bill he ſhould propoſe. In prefacing the account of his bill, his Grace obſerved (what, were it ever ſo true, would have come as properly from ſo ſincere a friend to his country as the Duke of Richmond, at any other time, as in a moment of riot and inſurrection) that the preſent parliament was no parliament at all, ſince, as their Lordſhips well knew, it was not a fair and equal repreſentation of the people. To procure a fair and equal repreſentation ſeems to have been, as far as his Grace explained it, the intention of the bill. The time which was taken up in beginning a ſpeech which promiſed many hours continuance, and which it was manifeſt the increaſing and outrageous mob muſt interrupt, might perhaps have been leſs thrown away in propoſing ſome ſcheme to quell the mob. His Grace's long preface was interrupted by Lord Mountford, who informed the houſe that Lord Boſton was actually in the mercileſs hands of the rioters under the windows of the committee room.

This brought on a mixed converſation concerning what ſteps ſhould be taken. The Duke of Richmond ſpoke in a ſpirited manner about the act which had cauſed the riot---declared he had originally ſupported it, and ever would ſupport it. But this was not taking any ſtep in ſupport of peace and order. Had his Grace's ſpeech got out to the mob, had it been delivered to them, inſtead of the houſe, it might indeed

deed have inflamed, it would not much have cooled, their ardour.

The houſe were further alarmed by freſh intelligence concerning Lord Boſton. Lord Radnor now propoſed that ſome of the members ſhould immediately go out to the rioters, and endeavour, by their preſence, to extricate his Lordſhip. Lord Townſhend offered inſtantly to be one. With a view, no doubt, of preſerving from inſult the perſon of him, whoſe property was afterwards deſtroyed by a mob which only came a few minutes too late for his life; the Duke of Richmond ſuggeſted that the learned Lord on the woolſack (Lord Mansfield) ſhould head them as a houſe, preceded by the mace. Lord Mansfield expreſſed his readineſs. But, at this moment, Lord Boſton entered the houſe, in a condition more like one of the rioters than a peer of parliament.

Lord Shelburne now roſe in great warmth. He demanded to know what ſteps government had taken to guard againſt what they muſt, from the advertiſement, have foreſeen. Lord Hillſborough informed the houſe (in the midſt of much altercation) that miniſtry had met upon the ſubject of Lord George's alarming advertiſement; and that the magiſtrates of Weſtminſter had been warned of the expected mob.

Information was now brought that the riot and the rioters every moment increaſed. Lord Denbigh propoſed ſending for the civil power, and, if that ſhould not be ſufficient, for the military. Lord Shelburne cried out loudly, "No," to the military: and, either ſeeing, or fancying he ſaw a ſmile on Lord Stormont's countenance, his Lordſhip accuſed him of laughing

laughing at the commerce of his country on the day before, and now at the *religion* of it. Yet Lord Shelburne voted for the bill, of the magnetiſm whereof uſe was now artfully made to draw the populace together in defence, as they were told, of *Religion*. His Lordſhip proceeded to inſinuate, that the exiſting riots had been occaſioned, been brought about, by Government---and ſpoke of what he remembered, when in office, reſpecting a riotous Captain Fall, who had left a will behind him in favour of an officer of the treaſury, which plainly ſhewed --- (what, ſagacious reader?)---that Fall muſt have been employed by the ſame government which employs the officers of the treaſury, to one of whom he bequeathed his property. He proceeded to ſay, this alſo might be a ſcheme of the miniſtry; that, having tried every thing elſe, they might now have recourſe to mobs. He could not help reflecting on ſome very extraordinary expreſſions that had lately fallen from perſons in office. It had been ſaid, "Though we could not quell the rebellion in "America, we can prevent, and we are determined to "ſuppreſs the efforts of rebels at home." This, and other expreſſions, added to the known rancour of adminiſtration, induced him to believe that the cauſe of the preſent tumult in their lordſhips hearing, lay much deeper than the bill relative to the Roman Catholics.---

A man of obſervation will keep a ſteady eye upon every conſpicuous character during ſuch moments as that which the writer is now deſcribing; and will form his judgment, however cloſely he may treaſure up that judgment, accordingly.

Are expreſſions to be recollected and to be ſifted through the fineſt ſieve? Is the known rancour of a party a juſt argument againſt them?---Without any ſuch arguments, without any ſuch proofs, moſt of Lord Shelburne's countrymen will readily agree with his Lordſhip, that "the cauſe" (or, at leaſt, the encouragement) "of theſe tumults lay much deeper than "the bill relative to the Roman Catholics."

The Lord Preſident juſtly ridiculed the idea of his having been concerned in procuring a mob to inſult and ill-treat himſelf.---A member, whoſe ſpeech had been dictated by that rancour of which Lord Shelburne complained, would have been juſtified in hinting, at leaſt, at the old ſtory of crying out thief firſt.

The Duke of Richmond was interrupted, in accuſing the interior cabinet of the weavers' riots at Bedford-Houſe ſome years ſince, by the arrival of the juſtices, who had already been before the Houſe, and who now declared the mob was too numerous for all the conſtables they could collect. Some further converſation took place concerning the Duke's Bill; at about nine the Houſe was obliged to break up. It adjourned to the next day.

The exact damage that was done to every member's coat, the quantity of powder that was beaten out of every head, the number of blows and bruiſes that every noble Lord received, no reader is ſolicitous to learn. There is a kind of dignity about great and national diſtreſſes which will not ſuffer a feeling mind to dwell upon any thing mean or low. When every law divine and human has been inſulted, when the conſtitution itſelf has been almoſt trampled under foot, he muſt have

have a paltry ſoul who can ſtop to relate, or to peruſe, an account of the damage done to an earl's vis-à-vis, or of the rage vented upon the ſhins even of the Lord Preſident of the Council. The principal performances of the inſurgents ſhall be faithfully recorded; but what reader wiſhes to be told the name of every individual whom they ſtopped, the inſtant at which they turned into every particular ſtreet, and where they halted to ſhout "No Popery! Down with the mi-"niſtry!?"

The Archbiſhop of York was the firſt on whom they began to wreak their vengeance. His Grace was vilely inſulted. The Lord Preſident (Bathurſt), the Lords Mansfield, Stormont, Hillſborough (ſaved, in ſome meaſure, by being in Lord Townſhend's carriage, for whom that part of the mob profeſſed reſpect) ---the Lords Willoughby de Broke, Boſton, Aſhburnham, St. John, Dudley, and many others, were treated with more or leſs unmanly brutality. The Duke of Northumberland, in addition to the ill-uſage he received, experienced, by the loſs of his watch, that every mob is increaſed by thoſe who ſeize this opportunity to prey upon their fellow-creatures. A motive, however, leſs diſhoneſt for joining a mob, than a wiſh to deſtroy a country; or to deſtroy the miniſters of a country, at the hazard of burying, under the ſame ruins which overwhelm them, all their countrymen.---The Biſhop of Lincoln (Thurlow), for reaſons which it is impoſſible to gueſs, hardly eſcaped with his life. The humanity of Mr. Atkinſon, an attorney in Weſtminſter, admitted his Lordſhip into his houſe, at the riſque of his property

and exiſtence; and the Biſhop, in diſguiſe, got away over the tops of the houſes.

The Commons fared better individually, though, collectively, they were juſtly under ſtill greater apprehenſions than the Lords. Mr. Welbore Ellis was the only member materially ill-treated. The lobby of the houſe was full of rioters; the houſe itſelf was literally beſieged. Either from deſign or from the croud, the door was more than once almoſt forced open. The moment when Cromwell kicked away the Speaker's bauble, was a moment of ſhame and diſgrace; the preſent was a moment of perſonal apprehenſion, and of every different ſpecies of public and of private dread. Lord George, if he did not guide the whirlwind and direct the ſtorm, certainly ſhowed no wiſhes to ſee them ſubſide, took no part in endeavouring to ſteer the tempeſt-ſhaken veſſel through them. His Lordſhip's time was employed in going out continually to the petitioners, and informing them what member was upon his legs, and what was ſaying either for them or againſt them. While he was ſpeaking to them, one of the many times he went out, he deſired the Chaplain of the houſe, who was ſtanding near him, to tell them with what danger their religion was threatened. The Reverend Gentleman is reported to have ſaid with ſpirit, he had nothing to tell them, but he would tell his Lordſhip that every drop of blood ſpilt in this buſineſs would be upon his head. His Lordſhip's friends, nay his relations, are ſaid to have tried in vain to reſtrain his raſhneſs by every mode of intreaty, of advice, and even of threat.

Colonel Holroyd is reported to have ſtopped, at laſt, theſe inflammatory viſits to the mob by ſome

ſuch remonſtrance as this---" My Lord, at firſt I " thought you only mad, and was going to move " that you might be ſent to Bedlam. Now I ſee " there is much more malice than madneſs in the bu- " ſineſs. If you go out once more to the mob, I aſ- " ſure you, upon the faith of parliament, I will in- " ſtantly move that you may be committed to the " Tower. And, depend upon it, that, the firſt rioter " who forcibly enters this houſe, I thruſt my ſword, " not through his heart, but through your's."--- He, who wiſhes that, in theſe times, his country ſhould be graced by a manly, determined character, wiſhes this to be true. The intrepid behaviour of Colonel Holroyd during the tumults, makes ſuch an anecdote much more than poſſible. One part of what the Colonel ſaid to Lord George, calls to mind a circumſtance mentioned by Clarendon (vol. 2. p. 355.). On the impeachment of the biſhops, in the latter-end of the year 1641, no man, in either houſe, ventured to ſpeak a word in their vindication: one perſon alone ſaid, that he did not believe them guilty of high treaſon; but that they were ſtark mad. He therefore deſired they might be ſent to Bedlam.

The minds of the gentlemen belonging to the houſe muſt, at this alarming moment, have been ſtill more confuſed than the minds of moſt other men at any given moment of the tumults. To recollect therefore what paſſed during this confuſion, muſt be a taſk more difficult for them, than for the generality of people at any given ſtage of the riots. Yet we ſhould all find recollection ſufficiently difficult. That Lord George did not behave leſs ſtrangely and diſorderly

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than uſual, is univerſally agreed.---He is ſaid to have been aſked why he did not originally oppoſe the bill againſt which he had now brought an army of petitioners; why, in private converſation in the houſe at the time, he expreſſed himſelf in favour of the bill? His anſwer was, that he had not then taken to ſpeaking.---He is ſaid to have told the houſe, that more than ſixty thouſand men only waited his beck, to put them all to death, and to make him whatever he pleaſed.---But in ſuch a time as this, every man we meet is ambitious of having ſomething to tell which has not been told before. To be ſure that the anecdote is new, the moſt effectual way is at once to invent it.

At laſt Lord George moved for leave to bring up the petition, which he ſaid was ſigned by near one hundred and twenty thouſand names. Mr. Alderman Bull ſeconded the motion. Leave was given.---He then moved, ſeconded again by the Alderman, to have it taken into immediate conſideration *this day*. An amendment was propoſed, *Tueſday next*, inſtead of *this day*. During the debate (if it could be ſo called), the mob grew ſtill more clamorous and outrageous, underſtanding delay was attempted; and Mr. G. Rous, at laſt, moved for the aſſiſtance of the civil power, and Mr. Mansfield recommended calling in the military. Several Middleſex Juſtices attended, and declared their force inſufficient. The meſſengers were, finally, from abſolute neceſſity, diſpatched for the guards. Before the guards arrived Lord George had deſired the petitioners to diſperſe, telling them to truſt in God for the accompliſhment of their buſineſs. The original debate was again reſumed, whereupon a diviſion took

took place. There appeared, for the petition's being taken into conſideration this evening, ſix---for its being taken into conſideration on Tueſday, one hundred and ninety-two. The houſe roſe between eleven and twelve, and, as Monday was the King's birth-day, adjourned over to Tueſday.

The mob did not adjourn 'till Tueſday. Now began their infernal buſineſs.---The reader, who ſhall be at the trouble of turning back to the beginning of thoſe tumults in the reign of our firſt Charles, which ended in the ſubverſion of the conſtitution, and in the tyranny of Cromwell, will ſee how much more ſerious and threatening were the tumults we have experienced, than thoſe.---Let us then be upon conſtant guard againſt the dark deſigns of modern Cromwells and their followers; and let us uſe every endeavour to bring to juſtice the agents of France, Spain and America. Private friendſhip muſt give way to public ſafety. Bad men, for evil purpoſes, have long accuſtomed themſelves to burſt every dear and ſocial tie---it is now time that every honeſt man, for the beſt of purpoſes, ſhould forget he has any friend, any father, any brother, any wife, any child, but his country. Can an Engliſhman behold, unconcerned, the royal oak wither and decay? Can he ſit ſtill and ſee preparations made to conſume it by fire? The axe of faction and national hatred is laid to the root of the tree. The moment is come when this venerable and antient conſtitution, beneath the branches whereof our anceſtors have for ſo many centuries enjoyed ſhade and ſhelter, will either ſhake the nations with its fall to ruin; or, defended by our gratitude and our courage, will take ſtronger and deeper

deeper root, and ſpread its flouriſhing and everlaſting arms around our childrens' children.

—— —— Oh! if chance thine home
Salute thee with a father's honour'd name,
Go, call thy ſons, inſtruct them what a debt
They owe their anceſtors, and make them ſwear
To pay it, by tranſmitting down entire
Thoſe ſacred rights to which themſelves were born!

From the Houſes of Parliament the mob proceeded, notwithſtanding Lord George's chriſtian advice that they ſhould put their truſt in God, to the Romiſh chapels, belonging to the Sardinian and Bavarian ambaſſadors, in Duke-ſtreet, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, and Warwick-ſtreet, Golden-ſquare.---Impartiality muſt confeſs that it is poſſible (though only poſſible) that the enemies of our country, already enumerated, might have lighted even theſe firſt fires of inſurrection, at leaſt might have pointed the rage of the mob to light them, with a view to involve us with thoſe powers whom the ambaſſadors repreſented. Yet, ſo connected is the deſtruction of Popiſh chapels with the ideas of men who ſay they aſſemble to oppoſe Popery, that he muſt be a ſturdy arguer who can perſuade us theſe convulſions were not begun at leaſt, in more parts of the city than one, by Lord George Gordon's Proteſtant petitioners.---Both the chapels were, in great meaſure, deſtroyed, and the furniture taken out and burnt, before the military could arrive. Thirteen of the rioters were taken, and ſecured in the Savoy. The

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public flattered themſelves the threatening ſtorm was overpaſt.

On Saturday June the third, the rioters in cuſtody were examined in Bow-ſtreet, and moſt of them committed. The names of thoſe who gave evidence againſt them very imprudently got into the papers. Of this imprudence the conſequence will preſently be ſeen.

The writer takes this opportunity to obſerve how often he has been ſtruck with the incaution and uſeleſſneſs of ſuch newſpaper paragraphs as this---" On ſuch a day " Mr. Such-an-one, of ſuch a number in ſuch a ſtreet, " was attacked by a footpad whom he boldly reſiſted, " and handled with merited roughneſs." No one advantage, public or private, can ariſe from ſo minute a publication of the name and place of abode. It can only operate as a temptation of no weak nature to the footpad; who, if he poſſeſs the ſame diabolical ſpirit of retaliation which actuated the late mobs, will take care that Mr. Such-an-one ſhall reſiſt to leſs purpoſe the next dark evening. It is giving revenge a direction to the (at preſent) unknown individual againſt whom his rage is rouzed.

This afternoon (Saturday), while the mob were committing outrages in and about Ropemakers-Alley, Moorfields (where the Lord Mayor is loudly accuſed by ſome of having been leſs active than he ought), the Houſe of Lords met in purſuance to their adjournment. The Lord Preſident called the attention of the Houſe to their late diſgraceful fall from dignity, went over the hiſtory of anarchy and outrage, and moved for an addreſs to his Majeſty to give immediate directions for the proſecution of the authors of the tumults. The Duke

of Richmond, Lord Shelburne, the Duke of Manchester, the Marquis of Rockingham, told the House they did not disapprove the motion. They all, however, traced the riots, by different paths, to the door of the ministry; all told how judiciously they had quelled mobs when in power; and all talked much of the Quebec bill, which was accused of causing, so many years ago, disturbances in June 1780.---Lord Shelburne told the House he had passed through the mob, he had looked in the faces of those who were crying "No "Popery! We shall be burnt! Let us have the Pro-"testant religion!" and he saw evident marks of sincerity in their countenances; he saw that they believed what they said, and acted from conviction.---But, as the most perfect skill in physiognomy could not, in a few moments of hurry and confusion, read the disturbed countenances of forty thousand men, it does not immediately follow that "Repeal the Quebec bill" was written in legible characters on the face of every rioter.---The Lord President's motion past nem. diss. A motion of Lord St. John for the dispatches from Sir G. B. Rodney was negatived by a large majority: but after some warm altercation; and some very spirited language from Lord Sandwich, who quoted the observation of Clarendon, that it is a great misfortune upon a country (which it surely is) when any one sett of men presume to suppose that they alone think with the world, and that all the world think with them alone. Lord Shelburne, in the course of the debate on this question, took occasion to deliver, what he termed a farewell speech to the house; he said a domestic call obliged him to leave the house immediately;

and

and he, moſt probably, ſhould not return, till matters were riper, and there was a greater likelihood of his ſpeaking there to ſome purpoſe.---Every true Engliſhman muſt lament that a patriot ſhould be obliged by any private call to withdraw himſelf from the public council of the nation, at a moment when every thing public and private, that is dear or valuable, was in the moſt imminent danger.---The Duke of Richmond's bill for annual parliaments, and to *reſtore* to every ſubject that right of voting which it has not yet been ſhown every ſubject ever yet poſſeſſed, was thrown out, after one reading, without a diviſion. Between ten and eleven the houſe adjourned to Tueſday.

The next day was Sunday, but it ſhone no Sabbath-day to theſe lawleſs rioters. They ſtill continued their devaſtations in Moorfields, and that part of the city; and every Roman Catholic thereabouts experienced the effects of their fury. The military, after the civil power had called them in, were not uſed by them. The mob knew the military did not dare to fire without the command of the civil power. The military, ſeeing they were not to be uſed effectually, endeavoured to keep upon good terms with thoſe, who might, with impunity, as they did in many places, pull their noſes and ſpit in their faces.---Hence reports, at the time, as if the ſoldiery had, in ſome meaſure, joined with the mob. The military will do their duty when any one has reſolution to order them to their duty. For their patience and forbearance, at more than one ſtage of theſe commotions, they deſerve every praiſe.

Monday, June the 5th, in the midſt of theſe ferments in his kingdoms, was kept at court as his Majeſty's birth-day, who on Sunday entered into the 43d year of his age. Early this morning, between one and two, a ſmall part of the mob attacked Sir George Savile's houſe in Leiceſter-fields, broke ſome of the windows, and burned ſome of the furniture before the houſe. The guards were procured; but ſo little dreadful was the mob, that Sir George is ſaid to have continued in the houſe during all their fury, and to have ſlept there after they diſperſed. The ſame morning were deſtroyed the houſes and furniture of Meſſrs. Rainsforth and Maberly, who had given evidence againſt the rioters, and whoſe names had been ſo incautiouſly made public. The mob had given out the day before that they might expect them.

This morning, previous to the drawing-room, a privy council was holden in his Majeſty's cloſet, whereat it was reſolved to iſſue a proclamation, which appeared in Tueſday's Gazette, offering a reward of five hundred pounds to thoſe who would diſcover any perſon or perſons concerned in demoliſhing and ſetting fire to the Sardinian or Bavarian chapels. The ſame morning were re-examined at Bow-ſtreet the thirteen rioters; when three of them were committed to Newgate, whither they were eſcorted by a party of guards. During this day and night the riots continued at Moorfields, Hoxton, Wapping, and other parts of the city.

We now approach to ſcenes in this land of liberty, which an Engliſhman, the child of freedom, bluſhes to deſcribe,

On

On Tueſday the 6th of June both houſes of parliament were as effectually beſet by blue-cockades as on the preceding Friday. The horſe and foot guards, however, were properly diſpoſed to protect the members, and no peer or commoner was ill-treated except Lord Sandwich, with whom the mob were very violent and outrageous, as he was going down to the houſe; till his Lordſhip was extricated with no little ſpirit by Juſtice Hyde and ſome of the light horſe. The diſappointed rioters immediately diſpatched a party to deſtroy the Juſtice's houſe and furniture, which was effected. On this day the courts in Weſtminſter Hall were only opened, for the ſake of form, by a Judge belonging to each.

In the houſe of peers this day, upon the reading of a private bill, Lord Radnor called their Lordſhips attentions to the public ſituation of affairs; and obſerved, that, with ſuch a mob at their doors, their deliberations could not be called free. Much confuſed converſation took place hereupon, in the courſe of which Lord Abingdon ſaid the only way to appeaſe the people was to addreſs his Majeſty to diſſolve the parliament. At laſt, the houſe was obliged to adjourn to the next day.

In the houſe of commons, after a little other buſineſs, Mr. Buller moved, 1. that the inſults offered to members were a breach of the privilege of parliament---2. that a committee ſhould be appointed to diſcover the authors of the tumults---3. that his Majeſty might be addreſſed to order the proſecution of the rioters already in cuſtody---and 4. that his Majeſty ſhould be addreſſed to order compenſation to be made

to

to the ſufferers, for which parliament would provide. The motions paſt without a diviſion. Mr. Burke, Mr. Fox, Sir F. Norton, Mr. Dunning delivered, each of them, a violent harangue; wherein, forgetful of their own perilous ſituations, miniſtry, after being accuſed of cauſing the mobs as an excuſe for uſing the military, were coarſely attacked for calling in that military by whom alone, at the moment theſe gentlemen were ſpeaking, all that remained of the dignity of parliament, and the lives of its members were perhaps preſerved.

Lord George, who had (yeſterday) publiſhed a handbill from the Proteſtant aſſociation diſavowing the riots, and recommending peace and good order, was to-day obſerved in the Houſe by Mr. Herbert with a blue cockade in his hat. Upon Mr. H.'s noticing this "enſign of riot and contempt of Parliament" publickly to the Houſe, his Lordſhip took it out of his hat.

After ſuch tumultuous converſation as could alone take place at ſuch a moment, it was reſolved, on a motion of General Conway, "that this Houſe will, "ſo ſoon as the tumults ſubſide which are now ſub-"ſiſting, proceed immediately to the due conſideration "of the ſeveral petitions preſented to this Houſe from "many of his Majeſty's Proteſtant ſubjects, and will "take the ſame into their ſerious conſideration." After which, at about ſix o'clock, the houſe adjourned to Thurſday.

During the ſitting of the Houſe, an attack had been made by the mob upon Lord North's in Downing-ſtreet; but a party of Light Horſe prevented their intentions.

tentions. On the riſing of the Houſe, Lord George Gordon went to the corner of Bridge-ſtreet, informed the populace what had been done by their repreſentatives, and adviſed them to depart quietly to their own houſes. In return for ſuch intelligence and ſuch advice, the leaſt they could do was to ſave his horſes the trouble of drawing his carriage. His Lordſhip was pulled along the ſtreets by his Proteſtant petitioners, amidſt their ſhouts and acclamations, in compleat popular triumph.

After they had conveyed their leader whither he wiſhed to go, they departed to continue their buſineſs of extirpating popery and papiſts. On this night too it was thought politic that the different mobs provided by the different enemies of our country, ſhould, under the ſanction of blue cockades, begin their diabolical works. In a night and a day, one of the firſt cities in the univerſe was almoſt deſtroyed; and the envied nation, of which it is the capital, only not reduced to univerſal bankruptcy and ruin, and to either democratical or foreign ſlavery.

Let us dwell as ſhort a time as the chain of narration will permit upon ſcenes which muſt eternally diſgrace the annals of our country. Hiſtorical regularity is for times of order. It is of little conſequence whether the outrages be related in the exact ſeries in which they were committed---whether precedence in deſtruction be unjuſtly aſſigned to this particular houſe, or to that particular priſon.

Too certain it is, that, in the horrid interval between Tueſday evening and Wedneſday night, the following ſhocking, unaccountable violations of all order, decency,

cency, law, religion, and humanity, were effected. The houſe of Lord Mansfield, in Bloomſbury-ſquare, was totally deſtroyed---they are ſaid to have brought a rope wherewith to have executed immediate vengeance on his Lordſhip, had they found him---popular fury hardly ſuffered the naked walls to remain---every thing found in the houſe was committed to the flames before the door---finally, the wainſcot and wood-work, which they were not able to pull down, were conſumed by fire---the mob armed themſelves with the iron rails which had ſurrounded the houſe; and departed (all, but the cool and deliberate ring-leaders and directors of this buſineſs, inebriated with the contents of the cellars) to execute miſchiefs ſtill more fatal to the public; preceded by his Lordſhip's dinner-bell, by the ringing of which they were to be kept together. Converſation paſt among them of cutting the pipes whereby the devoted city was ſupplied with water; of proceeding to burn Lord Mansfield's villa at Caen-wood, and to deſtroy the Bank.

The houſe and public office of Sir John Fielding; the Ship ale-houſe, where ſome Roman Catholics uſed to meet, in Duke-ſtreet, Lincoln's Inn Fields; the houſe of Mr. Doughty, a Roman Catholic, in Devonſhire-ſtreet, Redlion-ſquare; Mr. Cox's in Queen-ſtreet, Lincoln's Inn Fields; and ſeveral other private houſes, in different parts of the city, were, for different reaſons, deſtroyed, and (for the mob forced a word into their ſervice to deſcribe their villainies) *gutted* of every thing valuable, which was burnt before the reſpective doors. The Lord Chan-

cellor's houſe, notwithſtanding his ſevere indiſpoſition, was only ſaved by the guards; and the Archbiſhop of York's was only preſerved by a maid's telling the mob that her lady was brought to bed in conſequence of the fright.

The moſt ſerious proceedings of the mob, whereof we ſhall not for ſome time ceaſe to feel the effects in our property and our apprehenſion, ſtill remain to be related. Newgate was beſet, and Mr. Akerman, the amiable keeper (for a humane gaoler ſurely deſerves one epithet of praiſe), was ordered to releaſe the rioters confined there. Had it been poſſible for Mr. A. to have complied with their demands, the priſons of the city might *perhaps* have been ſaved. This was impoſſible; and, in truth, the infernal ſpirit of national deſtruction ſeemed to have ſo effectually gone forth among the ſavages, that it is not eaſy to ſay what would have ſatisfied them.

On Mr. A.'s refuſal, a little boy was lifted up (the method they uſed to fire all the priſons), who ſtuck five or ſix handfulls of tow, dipt in turpentine, upon the door. At the firſt touch of fire the door was in flames, which inſtantly communicated. Mr. Akerman and his family eſcaped, with the greateſt difficulty and danger, backwards. His houſe and furniture, and the firſt priſon in the kingdom, which was hardly (at the expence of 140,000l.) completed, and which to a common obſerver appeared to be built of nothing that would burn, were deſtroyed by the flames. Every priſoner of every deſcription was liberated and turned looſe upon the publie. They were above three hundred in number. Even three men whom juſtice had

ſentenced to the gallows, were releaſed from the condemned cells to merit the gallows a ſecond time by freſh crimes.

The priſoners in the New Priſon were diſmiſſed by theſe ruffians from confinement. Regular notices were ſent to the other priſons at what time the inhabitants might expect them. Thoſe in the Fleet begged not to be turned out at ſo late an hour on Tueſday night, and the mob conſented to let them move their goods the next morning, and not to deſtroy the priſon 'till Wedneſday evening. The King's Bench priſon, however, the New Gaol, the Borough Clinck, and the Surry Bridewell, were all cleared of their miſerable tenants, and demoliſhed by fire. Twelve or fourteen immenſe conflagrations, in different parts of the deſolated and affrighted metropolis, were to be ſeen raging at the ſame time, licking up every thing in their way, and haſtening to meet each other.

The toll-houſes and gates on Blackfriars-bridge; the watch-houſes in Kent-ſtreet, and near St. George's church; ſuffered the ſame fate---As did the houſe, and ſtock in trade (to the amount of more than 50,000£.), of Mr. Langdale a Roman Catholic, a diſtiller of a reſpectable character at Holborn-bridge; and ſome houſes, where he kept ſome materials of his diſtillery, and where his ſon reſided, near Fetter-lane in Holborn. The flames, by which the premiſes and ſpirits were conſumed, communicated to the ſtill more innocent neighbourhood (Mr. Langdale was criminal in being a Roman Catholic), and did conſiderable damage in both places. A detachment of the Northumberland militia, as well as Colonel Holroyd who attended them,

them, deſerve no common praiſes for their coolneſs, humanity, and intrepidity. They were under the neceſſity of firing; but many more, both women and men (as the ruins have every day diſcovered), periſhed by the effects of the deſtructive liquors upon their feveriſh and inflamed bodies, than by the merited vengeance of the military.---

This is the melancholy liſt of the principal miſchief effected by the rioters---much more was done of leſs magnitude; and much more, of the utmoſt conſequence, was threatened. They talked publickly of burning every building of diſtinction; in ſhort, of deſtroying the whole metropolis, ſo that the place thereof ſhould be no more found. The Manſion-houſe, the Muſeum, the Exchange, the Tower, the Bank, were particularly marked; and every precaution was taken to defend them. Government ſent for all the military to London, who were within call. Every ſoldier was ordered upon duty. In two or three places, there was an abſolute neceſſity to order them to *do their duty*; and they did it. Some lives were undoubtedly loſt; but, compare the number of guilty ſufferers with the number of the mob, or with the number of thoſe innocent people who ſuffered by the mob.

In times when the worſt of men ſcruple not to act the worſt of crimes, an honeſt man may ſurely be allowed to ſpeak his honeſt ſentiments. That individual, whether a duke or a drayman; a peer of parliament, a member of the houſe of commons, or his Majeſty's meaneſt ſubject; who ſhall hereafter dare to inſult our underſtandings and our eyeſights by declaiming againſt government for uſing the military, whoſe forbearance we have ſeen, and by whom alone we and

our country have been preſerved, muſt be either altogether devoid of common ſenſe, or be an enemy to his country of the blackeſt die.---Lay your hands upon your hearts, my countrymen, and ſay what other character ſuch an individual will deſerve.*---The writer is ſenſible that his language is ſtrong, but he ſees the times are critical. The nation muſt open its eyes, or they may be cloſed for ever. The fate of this country may at this moment be ſuſpended by a hair finer than the ſpider's fineſt thread.

The Marquis of Rockingham will certainly never blame the calling out of that military, for whoſe aſſiſtance he repeatedly ſent; to whoſe aſſiſtance he was obliged for the preſervation of his houſe and property, if, indeed, they were ever in real danger. It ſhould be acknowledged, however, that, after uſing the military as long as any danger laſted, he is reported, when all was quiet, to have written a letter to inſiſt upon their removal, heroically declaring he would rather loſe the laſt ſhilling of his property than owe its preſervation to ſuch inſtruments of tyranny.

During this ſtate of every thing that was alarming and dreadful, the ſituation of the inhabitants of London and Weſtminſter is not to be deſcribed. In Cromwell's days, in the worſt of tumults mentioned by hiſtory, the public knew what they were to expect. A particular event was to take place, or was not to take place---one party muſt prevail, or another. Now, no one could ſet bounds to his fears. Mobs of Proteſtants, in oppoſition to popery; the poſſibility of popiſh mobs, in oppoſition to them; the ſpecimens of

* This was written on the 18th of June. The author ſincerely hopes it never will apply to Engliſhmen.

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the undiſtinguiſhing fury of the levelling banditti; every priſon emptied; men ſentenced to be hanged, turned looſe on the public; apprehenſions of drunken rioters, and ſober houſebreakers; the probability of having offended ſome miſcreant, whoſe malice might point out your habitation to popular fury; all conſpired to increaſe the terrors of individuals. More terrible never was the ſituation of any city. To read in the papers, or to be told in converſation, of the death of any perſon, ceaſed, during this interval of diſtreſs, to ſtrike the ſame ſtring of pity as uſual. Something like a murmur, even of envy, was heared. The reader or the auditor involuntarily obſerved ---" well---he is out of theway of theſe troubles."

Robberies were committed upon individuals; contributions were forcibly levied upon whole families, in open day. Newſpapers, of a particular deſcription, took care to keep the fears of a diſtracted people awake, by announcing tumults in various parts of the kingdom, and by informing the public how many thouſand Corniſh miners were on their march to London *. In addition to all theſe ſources of public and private dread, it was known, from the evidence of their having returned the fire of the ſoldiery in more places than one, that the rioters were provided with arms.---The phraſe of our great poet has been worn almoſt to rags; but, if there ever was a ſituation which truly " beggared all deſcription," it was that whereof the writer ſpeaks.

* The printer of the Morning Chronicle, who has diſtinguiſhed himſelf for the accuracy with which he conveys the debates to the public, deſerves no common approbation for the even-handed moderation and caution which have uniformly marked his paper, throughout this whole melancholy buſineſs.

In

In their deſigns upon Caen-wood the mob were prevented by a detachment of horſe. They were not ſuffered to deprive a man, who certainly could have committed no ſin with regard to the bill againſt which the proteſtants petitioned, of every piece of moveable property, and every habitation he poſſeſſed. It is even ſaid, and it is more than poſſible, that Lord Mansfield's houſe in Bloomſbury-ſquare might have been preſerved, had his Lordſhip earlier in the evening procured the aſſiſtance of that military, with the calling in of whom he, among the reſt of his Majeſty's ſervants, muſt now ſubmit to be illiberally charged; or had the civil power, after the arrival of the military, made earlier uſe of them.

This ſeems to be an opportunity, and the preſent is ſurely a ſeaſon, to ſet the publick and the military right with regard to a univerſal miſapprehenſion which prevails reſpecting the true meaning and conſtruction of the ſtatute of 1 Geo. I, ſtat. 2, c. 5, commonly called the Riot Act. The civil magiſtrates, and the gentlemen of the military profeſſion, have ſo often been hardly treated, and brought into difficulties in conſequence of having acted with ſpirit and reſolution, that they now carry their caution to an exceſs which the law does not require of them.

The ſtatute of 1 Geo. I, ſtat. 2. c. 5, enacts generally, that if any twelve perſons are unlawfully aſſembled to the diſturbance of the peace, and one juſtice of the peace, ſheriff, under-ſheriff, or mayor of a town, ſhall think proper to command them by proclamation to diſperſe, if they contemn his orders, and continue together for one hour afterwards, ſuch contempt ſhall be felony

without benefit of clergy. And, further, if the reading of the proclamation be by force oppoſed, or the reader be in any manner wilfully hindered from the reading of it, ſuch oppoſers and hinderers are felons without benefit of clergy: and all perſons to whom ſuch proclamation ought to have been made, knowing of ſuch hindrance, and not diſperſing, are felons without benefit of clergy. And, by a ſubſequent clauſe of this act, if any perſons, ſo riotouſly aſſembled, begin, even before proclamation, to pull down any church, chapel, meeting-houſe, dwelling-houſe, or out-houſes, they ſhall be felons without benefit of clergy.

By the law of all countries, and of England among the reſt, every ſubject, civil or military, preſent when any number of men violently attack the perſon or property of another, is juſtified in uſing force of any kind, immediately, for the protection of his fellow-citizen's perſon or property. He has the ſame right to defend another as himſelf. The peace is equally broken in both caſes. No interpoſition of any magiſtrate is neceſſary to enable any man to do this. If I ſee a murderer, a highwayman, a houſebreaker, or a man pulling down or ſetting fire to a houſe, I am not only juſtified, but required, to oppoſe ſuch criminals by the utmoſt degree of force, even, by putting ſuch perſon to death. This is the law of nature, of reaſon, and of the world. An idea has prevailed that a body of military men may not attack with force of arms, a multitude of rioters actually deſtroying a houſe, unleſs the civil magiſtrate make proclamation, and wait for an hour, and order the attack. Now the Riot Act

applies

applies only to tumultuous aſſemblies that mean to perpetrate ſome deſtructive act, but by no means applies to thoſe who are actually committing ſuch act; therefore the barely continuing together for an hour after proclamation, without proceeding to do any miſchief at all, is made a capital felony: but the ſame act ſays, that pulling down a dwelling-houſe, before proclamation, ſhall be a capital offence. The reading of the Riot Act is therefore plainly neceſſary, only in the caſe of a tumultuous aſſembly which threatens violence; but when ſuch aſſembly proceeds to the actual commiſſion of violence, it is not the intention, nor does it fall within the expreſſion, of the Riot Act, to impede for a ſingle moment the ſuppreſſion of it by any means whatever.

In a word, every man of ſenſe, lawyer or otherwiſe, who has read and conſidered the Riot Act, muſt be convinced that a red coat makes no difference; that all the King's ſubjects, military or not military, are perfectly juſtified in uſing the utmoſt force, without delay, againſt thoſe who are actually pulling down, or ſetting fire to the houſe of a fellow ſubject; and that the civil magiſtrate, is no way neceſſary in ſuch a caſe; but only in the caſe of a multitude who have not yet proceeded to ſuch extremities.---If this be not ſtrict law, the writer ſincerely begs pardon of his readers---but, if it indeed be not, his underſtanding moſt egregiouſly miſleads him.---This is mentioned as a well-meant warning to the populace. The writer does not make the law: he only informs his countrymen what he religiouſly believes the law to be.

About

About five o'clock on Wedneſday morning, when the ſoldiers and their officer had been groſsly inſulted; and when the mob would not ſuffer the engines to play, in order to ſave the houſes adjoining to Lord Mansfield's; after ordering the ſoldiers to fire over their heads, and then to diſcharge powder in their faces, the Juſtice gave the word to fire ball. Six or ſeven of the forwardeſt wretches were killed, and about the ſame number wounded. Half the ſlaughter, at the beginning of the evening, might have ſaved Lord M.'s houſe and property, the deſtruction of which his Lordſhip's greateſt political enemies muſt allow will for ever ſtain the preſent times. The burning and emptying of the priſons are crimes of a different nature, and are not new in the hiſtory of popular inſurrections; but that the habitation of the ſupreme judge of the kingdom ſhould be burnt and pillaged in the midſt of this great city, is an event almoſt without precedent, and it is to be hoped will long remain a ſingle inſtance of popular fury, brought about by ſome dark, deſigning villains, whom we muſt all aſſiſt to drag forth to light, and puniſh according to their deſerts. How humiliating for this country is the reflection, that, amidſt the dreadful outrages committed during the civil wars of France, and the uſurped authority of the league, the perſons and properties of the Chancellor L'Hopital, and the Preſident De Harlay, were holden ſacred and preſerved, from a regard to their characters and functions; and that the Preſident De Molé remained unmoleſted during the wars of the Fronde, although all of them were obnoxious to the ruling faction; while in the preſent period, and in the

metropolis of the Britiſh empire, the houſe and property of the firſt magiſtrate were with impunity burnt and deſtroyed, and himſelf threatened and inſulted by a daring and outrageous mob!

Nay, during the famous revolution in Portugal, Vaſconcellos was the only wretch who experienced the fury of an enſlaved nation. The archbiſhop of Braga, no leſs deſervedly deteſted, ſuffered neither in his property nor his perſon. Even, when he ruſhed through the conſpirators (if that be a proper term for thoſe ſons of liberty), with a drawn ſword ſnatched from a ſoldier, to deſtroy Norogna for ſomething diſreſpectful he had ſaid of the Vice-Queen---ſtill, not a hair of his head was hurt. Finally, when proved guilty, by evidence and his own confeſſion, of a ſcheme to dethrone the Braganza family, and again to introduce Spaniſh tyranny, which he himſelf had planned in conſiderably more ſlaughter and deſtruction than the almoſt bloodleſs revolution had produced, and which every thing but ſucceeded---ſtill, his puniſhment was only perpetual confinement.

Nothing like the inſult offered to good order, humanity and law, in the deſtruction of Lord Mansfield's property, and the hue and cry after his life, is perhaps to be found in any pages of hiſtory, except in that which relates Maſſaniello's famous inſurrection at Naples in the laſt century. Begun by an ignorant fiſherman, kept alive literally by boys and the loweſt of the vulgar, this inſurrection indeed did burn and deſtroy the houſe of Antonio de Angelis, and all its contents; of which ſome, from the ſimilarity of his profeſſion, was no leſs ineſtimable than ſome of Lord Mansfield's property.

perty. But Antonio de Angelis was only a counſellor---he was not the ſupreme judge, and one of the moſt reſpectable characters of his country.*

Part of a ſpeech delivered by his Lordſhip, when judgment was given on the reverſal of Mr. Wilkes's outlawry, merits a place here for more reaſons than its manlineſs and ſpirit. Popular clamour and diſcontents at that time ran very high. Mr. Wilkes was the idol of the public. Every determination in the courts of law which was not in favour of their patriot, not only gave offence to their high mightineſſes the mob, but alſo induced many of them to threaten, that they would revenge the cauſe of a man, who, they ſaid, had been injured and oppreſſed. "The threats," ſaid his Lordſhip, "have been carried further. Perſonal violence has been denounced, unleſs we comply with

* Hiſtory has, for more than a century, been enquiring when Cromwell firſt beheld in viſion the crown of uſurpation. At what preciſe moment the ſeeds of ambition firſt ſtruck root in his rich and fruitful mind.—Who, at this day, is able to anſwer enquiries, which Cromwell himſelf would be unable to ſatisfy? The writer will mention a fact or two, upon which, if his memory ſerve him right, no hiſtorian has hitherto dwelt. The reader may form his own reflexions from them.

The revolution in Portugal took place in December, 1640. What would, in Cromwell's hands, have been as compleat a revolution in Naples, happened in July 1647.—The diſcontents in England grew alarming in 1641. In 1649 Charles was put to death. It was in 1637 that Cromwell, with Hazalrig, Hambden and others, was detained by order of council from ſetting ſail for America, which has ſince turned out ſo fruitful of Cromwells (Mather's hiſt. of New England, book 1. Dugdale. Bates.)—In the literary world, evidence much weaker than this has convicted many an honeſt poet of downright plagiariſm.

public humour. I do not fear ſuch threats. I do not believe there is any reaſon to fear them. 'Tis not the genius of the *worſt of men* in the *worſt of times* to proceed to ſuch ſhocking extremities. But, if ſuch an event *ſhould* happen, let it be ſo; even ſuch an event might be productive of wholeſeme effects; ſuch a ſtroke might rouze the better part of the nation from their lethargic condition to a ſtate of activity, to aſſert and execute the law, and puniſh the daring and impious hands which had violated it; and thoſe who now ſupinely behold the danger which threatens all liberty, from the moſt abandoned licentiouſneſs, might, by ſuch an event, be awakened to a ſenſe of their ſituation, as drunken men are oftentimes ſtunned into ſobriety. If the ſecurity of our perſons and our property, of all we hold dear and valuable, are to depend upon the caprice of a giddy multitude, or to be at the diſpoſal of a ſavage mob; if, in compliance with the humours, and to appeaſe the clamours of ſuch, all civil and political inſtitutions are to be diſregarded or overthrown, a life, ſomewhat more than ſixty, is not worth preſerving at ſuch a price; and he can never die too ſoon, who lays down his exiſtence in ſupport and vindication of the policy, the government, and the conſtitution of his country."---His Lordſhip has lived to ſee theſe tumults, though he did not then think human beings could have proceeded to ſuch acts of violence. He has, however, unhappily experienced them, and in a manner that muſt excite the ſenſibility of every liberal mind. He has ſuffered all the rage and fury of a licentious mob, for a matter (as it appears at preſent) in which his Lordſhip had certainly

no

no ſort of concern. But his is not a private loſs---the nation at large---all poſterity, perhaps, have ſuſtained a loſs, ſo much the greater as it is irreparable. This event, it is to be hoped, will be productive of the wholeſome effect his Lordſhip wiſely ſaid might be expected from ſuch ſhocking extremities---It is devoutly to be hoped, *that it will rouſe the better part of the nation to a ſtate of activity, to aſſert and execute the laws.*

Upon the firſt ſerious alarm of theſe diſturbances, government diſpatched orders to various parts of the kingdom for the military to repair to the metropolis. Had they ſent for them ſooner, what might we not have expected from the republican clamours of oppoſition? Still, it is forgotten that even the horſe are not provided with ſeven-league boots; that ſufficient time muſt be allowed for both horſe and foot to reach London from the different places, ſome of them at great diſtance, where they were quartered; that, after they reach the capital, ſome interval muſt be allowed between a fatiguing march and fatiguing duty.---Had this, as more than common men in more than common converſation have dared to aſſert, been an inſurrection cauſed by government (which was nearly deſtroyed by it), as an excuſe for extending the royal prerogative by the aſſiſtance of the military power; the military power would have been kept in greater readineſs for the purpoſe of carrying this ingenious ſcheme into execution. The accuſation deſtroys itſelf. If the late mobs had been planned and conducted with no more cunning, contrivance and fore-caſt, melancholy ſpectators would not be now flocking from all parts to ſee the effects of their fury.---The delay therefore

therefore of calling in the military, with which government are now charged in proof of their remiſſneſs, ſhould, with their loudeſt accuſers, be an argument, if the delay was intentional, directly in their favour. The fact, however, is, beyond a doubt, that the delay was not intentional. It was occaſioned, moſt naturally, by the diſtance of the troops. Every place of conſequence in the metropolis; every body of men; even individuals of all deſcriptions, Proteſtants and Roman Catholics, the oppoſers as well as the ſupporters of government---all applied for the aſſiſtance of the military. Military tyranny had not then, no more than it has now, taken place. Government could not immediately anſwer every application with a party of ſoldiers. Hence complaints of information given of expected attacks which were not prevented by the military.---There were not troops ſufficient in the capital to defend half the places that were threatened. As faſt as they arrived they were ordered upon the moſt neceſſary duty.

During this political earthquake ſeveral individuals muſt neceſſarily have diſtinguiſhed themſelves. The writer has names in his poſſeſſion which he could mention; but there might be others, equally deſerving, which have not reached him. Such conduct will find its ſilent way to praiſe; the ſelf-approbation of ſuch men will be no ſlender reward. They reſcue a word of conſequence from the mouth of faction; and *patriot*, when applied to them, is uſed in its proper ſenſe; is not proſtituted.

Yet, one individual forces himſelf upon notice. Mr. Wedderburn, the late Attorney General, merits

every

every praiſe, every thank from his country, both for his public and his private ſpirit. The writer of this is not trammelled in the panegyrical language of dedication, but he did intend (till an indelicacy ſtruck him in dedicating a hiſtory of rioters to that judge by whom ſome of the riotere may perhaps be tried) to have prefixed the name of Loughborough to theſe pages. Who has ſo good a claim to the hiſtory of tumults as he who uſed every endeavour to quell them? His houſe in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields Mr. W. immediately fortified with the aſſiſtance of his friends, till the military could be procured; and determined to convince the lawleſs levellers that the roaring torrent of popular fury could not expect to purſue its deſtructive courſe, and to overflow and ſweep a whole country to ruin, without ſome obſtruction. At the burning of the chapel in Duke-ſtreet, he had already eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf. The laudable aſſociations which were now formed in the neighbourhood of Lincoln's-Inn, and in Lincoln's-Inn and the two Temples (whence the minds of the public, overcome at firſt by the ſuddenneſs of their danger, imbibed freſh ſpirits), if they were not all originally ſuggeſted and ſet on foot by Mr. Wedderburn, were undoubtedly encouraged by his preſence and advice, and inſpired by his example.

Whatever maſk may be worn, whatever character may be aſſumed, by the actors upon the great ſtage of the world, the individual is too often viſible through all the diſguiſe. At leaſt, follow the benevolent man, the patriot, the hero, from the theatre of public affairs to their cloſets; and, without mixing, according to Condè's maxim, with their valets de chambre, the

hero,

hero, the patriot, the benevolent man, too frequently turn into characters with which the writer will not ſtain his paper.---Traitors there are to humanity, who, painting all their fellow creatures from diſguſting portraits of themſelves, even inſiſt, that, by whatever ſecondary wheel we may be kept in motion, the primary ſpring, by which every man, in every ſituation of life, originally moves, is *ſelfiſhneſs*. But ſurely if this diabolical idea, which excludes from the human breaſt the whole train of charities and virtues, was ever contradicted by the conduct of any individual, it has had the lie given to it by the diſintereſted conduct of Mr. Wedderburn. The honours which have been conferred upon him, ſince theſe troubles, every one knows; and none, but the blind and narrow-minded declaimers againſt the Scotch, object to them. Theſe honours every one knew, for ſome time before the late troubles, were hovering over his head, and only, perhaps, waiting for the recovery of the Chancellor's health to ſettle thick upon him. What therefore (according to the ſelfiſh phraſe) has he *gotten*, what could he expect to *get*, by his late commendable conduct? Nothing. The Houſe of Commons, the courts of law he had already quitted; he had refuſed to take briefs, ſo certain was he of his preferment. There is every ground, therefore, for aſſerting, that, had Mr. Wedderburn not come thus boldly forward to face the danger with which the country was threatened; had he (like ſome others, who will not eſcape diſgrace) determined the poſt of honour, or rather of ſafety,

ſafety, to have been a private ſtation; had he retired to Mitcham, where

———Ipſa, procul diſcordibus armis,
Fundit humo facilem victum juſtiſſima tellus---

he would indeed have miſſed the praiſe he now ſo richly merits, but he would not immediately have deſerved cenſure eminently ſevere; ſtill he would have been crowned with his preſent honours, ſtill he would have been Lord Loughborough and at the head of the Common Pleas.---The writer muſt be at liberty to think he has pointed out to his countrymen one character, in one ſcene of life, free from ſelfiſhneſs, diſintereſted; until he finds himſelf confuted by argument, or convinced by proof.

In the Temple a particular individual ſtood ſo prominently forth from among his companions, in the ſpirited preparations which the gentlemen ſo cheerfully made for its defence, that they can experience no paſſion, except a little honeſt envy, at the mention of his name. Mr. Mansfield would be ill-treated if, in a narration like the preſent, his name ſhould be omitted.

The members of Lincoln's Inn, as well as indeed the members of all the other inns of court, moſt of whom aſſociated (and of all the aſſociations in general), deſerve the thanks and the praiſes of their countrymen. Conduct ſo ſpirited inſpired even the timid with ſomething which, for the time, anſwered all the purpoſes of courage: while it took from the inſurgents not a little of that appearance of reſolution, which was, in great meaſure, only the ebullition of cowardice; or the natural effect of that hope of ſucceſs and non-

reſiſtance, which they had been taught to believe, and had flattered each other, they ſhould univerſally find.

Againſt the Temple and Lincoln's Inn the rage of the populace was directed by ſomething more than their levelling idea of deſtroying every public building.---To the Temple they were led by their thirſt after the life of the Biſhop of Lincoln. Having miſtaken him (as is ſuppoſed) for ſome other biſhop (ſince he was not a biſhop at the paſſing of their hated act), when they almoſt murdered him at the commencement of their holy cruſade; they now determined to rectify their miſtake by obſtinately perſiſting in it; by deſtroying his furniture, razing his houſe from the ground, and glutting their groundleſs vengeance with his life.---To Lincoln's Inn it was ſaid they promiſed to pay a viſit in order to demoliſh the chambers of Mr. Dunning, who (as the reader has ſeen) took an active part in ſupport of the obnoxious bill.

Mr. Dunning ſent away his papers and moveables of conſequence to a place of ſafety; but, whatever was his real idea of danger, and notwithſtanding his houſe at Putney, he was continually ſeen at Lincoln's-Inn during the inſurrection, if he did not remain there the whole time. This conduct might ariſe from anxiety about his chambers; it is not very probable it aroſe from anxiety about the ſafety of the ſociety, ſince, notwithſtanding the gentlemen of the Inn had armed themſelves on his account, notwithſtanding the Inn was filled with ſoldiers on his account (and, it is believed, at his requeſt); either patriotiſm or prudence

dence kept him, throughout the whole buſineſs, though one of the firſt men in the Inn, from taking any part, civil or military, by advice or otherwiſe, in the defence of thoſe who were in arms on his account—or rather in defence of himſelf. The Spartan band of warriors were only now and then encouraged by a ſight of their Leonidas in the narrow paſs of his own Thermopylæ, in the door-way of his chambers, chewing the cud of courage and reflexion; and bending under the weight of his arms, like Robinſon Cruſoe guarding the firſt volume of his own hiſtory. Had this brave veteran been employed in defending his caſtle upon Putney common, no one would have found fault with his abſence from Lincoln's-Inn. But, when he voluntarily viſited the field of battle, when he came forth to look on the face of war, it was expected from his known courage and bravery, and from the bold words, at leaſt, which he had ſo often wielded in public, words which "had ſhaken the arſenal and thundered over Greece," that he would have taken an active part, that he would have claimed the poſt of danger, in a ſituation of danger, for which, if he deſerved belief, he alone was to be thanked. Something of this kind was the rather expected by thoſe who knew that Mr. Dunning had ſeen ſome ſervice of no common nature, and to whom an anecdote, with which the reader ſhall be made acquainted, was familiar.

When Mr. Dunning was Solicitor General, he is ſaid to have dedicated a few months, during one of the ſtated receſſes from pubick buſineſs, to the ſtill further

enlargement of his capacious mind by travel. Colonel Barré was his companion.

Europe they ſaw, and Europe ſaw them too.

Mr. Dunning's turn for military affairs, which has ſo manifeſtly diſplayed itſelf during the late campaign in Lincoln's-Inn, carried theſe illuſtrious travellers to Pruſſia, and, when in the dominions of Frederick, made them deſirous of being preſent at a review of his troops by the firſt warrior of the age. To his Pruſſian Majeſty's reviews at Berlin, to the manœuvres in Sileſia, acceſs is not of very difficult attainment. The grand exhibitions of war at Potſdam, about the end of September, are conducted with more ſecreſy, as they approach nearer to the reality of active ſervice. His own ſubjects, more eſpecially ſtrangers are rigidly, and prudently, debarred the ſight of them. Mr. Dunning, however, was more fortunate than moſt people. Fortunate, indeed, had he treaſured up any of the Pruſſian manœuvres, which he beheld with fear and trembling, *et quorum pars magna fuit*; and had he added to his eſtabliſhed reputation for bravery by at leaſt communicating them to his military companions in Lincoln's-Inn!

By the aſſiſtance of his friend the Colonel, Mr. Dunning was admitted even into the arcana of theſe eſoteric myſteries. Colonel Barrè, at a kind of *table d'hote*, in a tavern oppoſite the eſcurial, had been introduced to Colonel Quintus, the reigning favourite in Pruſſia, by his old friend Don Franciſco Buccarelli, in an interval between two bumpers of Packeretti. Mr. Dunning was that day confined to his hotel, by a huſkineſs

huſkineſs owing to his change of diet, and to ſome little intemperate indulgence over-night in a high diſh peculiar to Spain, wherein the chief ingredient was Spaniſh cheſnuts. Colonel Quintus, upon a viſit from the Engliſh traveller, recollected their introduction to each other at Madrid, and was of Knight's ſervice in the buſineſs. He ſpoke to two or three of the general officers, the affair was ſettled. And, now, behold Mr. Dunning and Colonel Barrè, mounted upon two chargers lent them by two general officers, the friends of Quintus. Notwithſtanding the extent of the ground, the ſtrangers did not eſcape the keen eye of Frederick. Moſt probably the military appearance of Mr. Dunning drew his attention. Obadiah upon Mr. Shandy's docked-tail coach-horſe, when he met Dr. Slop at the corner of the garden wall, was a fool to our hero. The king enquired who they were. Quintus begged his Majeſty's pardon for diſobeying his orders in introducing them; and informed him they were "an Engliſh colonel, et le Solicitor *General* du roi." Frederick ſaid, if that were the caſe, he muſt ſhow the Engliſh *General* ſomething worth ſeeing; but he looked as if he thought we did not excel in our breed of Generals. The favourite manœuvres of the Pruſſian warrior are the changes of front, whereof the oblique order is always the baſis, and the ſuddenly forming of it into columns on the right and left. This renders the manœuvres exceedingly fatiguing. The review on this day laſted longer, and was more complicate, than ordinary. Whether the king's eye can diſtinguiſh a legal from a military officer; or whether Quintus, to gratify his royal maſter, betrayed his

learned friend; cannot be known. Certain, however, it is, nomode of attack, ambuſcade, retreat, or evolution was on that day omitted. Mr. Dunning's war-horſe, in ſpite of all his learned rider's arguments, did his duty, like an old hunter, by a kind of intuition. Wherever the battle raged moſt fiercely, thither he conveyed the Solicitor General of England. His rider ſoon ceaſed to attend to any thing more than the preſervation of his ſeat, by means of the charger's main, and the pommel of the ſaddle. It was a ſcene to ſet at defiance even the powers of a Hogarth. The whiſkered grenadiers of Pruſſia could hardly ſit their horſes for laughing. After the tireſome duty of the day was over, his majeſty deſired the two foreigners might be introduced to him. Of Colonel Barrè, as a military man, he took ſome trifling notice. Next approached Mr. Dunning, upon his charger, exactly in ſuch manner as the charger choſe, *non indecoro pulvere ſordidus.* "L'avocat du roi," ſaid Quintus. "Hah," obſerved his majeſty (meaſuring the warrior from head to foot, which did not take him much time), "C'eſt un avocat."

At this moment his Pruſſian majeſty has a man about his perſon, who is not caſt in Nature's moſt military mould, to whom he gives the title of his Solicitor General.---That thoſe of Mr. Dunning's friends, who were acquainted with this anecdote, ſhould have expected ſomething from him at this criſis, is far from ſtrange.---

Return we now to the courſe of our narration.---During this confuſion every hour produced handbills of the moſt inflammatory kind---accounts of the bloody

maſſacres

maſſacres committed by the ſoldiers upon many hundreds of his Majeſty's Proteſtant ſubjects now lying dead in the ſtreets; liſts of all the fooleries and villainies of the Roman Catholic religion; &c. &c. The effects of theſe were taken off as much as poſſible by papers of a different kind, diſtributed (as it ſeemed) by government, and by the friends of government.

On Wedneſday, June the 7th, the Houſe of Lords met in purſuance of their adjournment; and finding it impoſſible to do their duty, they adjourned to Monday; on which day things were not yet ſufficiently quiet for them to proceed to buſineſs; ſo that they may be ſaid, in fact, to have adjourned to Monday ſe'nnight, the 19th of June. To that day the Houſe of Commons (who met on Thurſday the 8th) did at once adjourn. On Wedneſday the private committee ſat to enquire into the cauſes of the riots. On Thurſday, the day to which they ſtood adjourned, the Houſe only heard the Lord Advocate's motion for their further adjournment to Monday ſe'nnight; and an account from Sir P. J. Clerke of the occaſion of his being drawn by the populace, with Lord G. Gordon, in his Lordſhip's carriage, from Parliament-ſtreet to Mr. Alderman Bull's in Leadenhall-ſtreet.---He was obliged to beg Lord George's protection from the mob. His Lordſhip reſcued him in his carriage. The mob took off the horſes, and would not ſuffer him to quit the carriage.

Thurſday's papers contained, many of them, what they choſe to call "a ſpeech intended to have been ſpoken by Lord Abingdon on the preceding evening, had he not, on his going down, found the houſe, *to his aſtoniſhment*, riſen." They could never have been authorized

authorized to have given a paper ſo intitled to the public, becauſe a peer of parliament muſt know that the ſpeech of a peer of parliament, whatever number of foul copies may have been made of it, ſhould be delivered to the great council of the nation in parliament aſſembled, and not to noblemen, gentlemen and others, to liege ſubjects and rebellious rioters, through the channel of a three-penny newſpaper.—Beſide, this ſpurious ſpeech moſt earneſtly intreats the repeal of that act, which a lawleſs mob had aſſembled before the houſes of parliament to force the members to repeal. With what contempt is the conduct of the city of London viewed, whoſe common-council have voted a petition to the ſame effect ſince the ſuppreſſion of the riots? On Wedneſday the 7th the rioters were at their height. Would Lord Abingdon, on ſuch a day, have been bullied into a repeal of an act of parliament? Would he have merited tenfold contempt by making ſuch a ſpeech on ſuch a day?---Again, the ſpeech ſays, "the military will not fight for us in ſuch a caſe; and, if they do not," it aſks, "what, my Lords, is to become of our country?" Inſinuations of this nature could never have been ſent to the public papers by Lord Abingdon (and, if the ſpeech was intended to have been delivered by Lord A. it could only have been ſent by his Lordſhip) at a time when the ſalvation of the metropolis depended literally upon the military's fighting for us.---"I fear, my Lords, there is at the bottom of all this diſturbance, the deep-laid ſcheme of a dark cabal to diſſolve the conſtitution of this country." This part of the ſpeech, whether it was ever intended for the Houſe of

Lords

Lords or not, contains what moſt readers feel to be true.

On Thurſday, June the 8th, ſome diſturbances of no great conſequence happened in the Borough, which were eaſily quelled by the ſoldiery. The arrival of more troops, both horſe and foot, kept every thing quiet, and once more reſtored tranquillity to the affrighted public. Things by degrees returned into their uſual channels. On Friday buſineſs commenced again in Weſtminſter Hall.---Thoſe, who, upon the appearance of ſuch a numerous banditti, wondered whence they came; now expreſſed as much wonder whither they could be gone.---Many paſſages of life are in common converſation compared to a dream; theſe four or five days had really the appearance of one.

On this day (Thurſday) was publiſhed a moſt humane and prudent proclamation, informing the public that it was "neceſſary to employ the military power," and that "the moſt direct and effectual orders were "iſſued to all officers, by an immediate exertion of "their utmoſt force to repreſs the tumults and inſur-"rections." This was inſtantly reported, and conſidered, by many as a declaration of martial law. But it is not ſingular, when almoſt a whole kingdom had for ſo many years miſunderſtood, or not conceived the full meaning of, an act of parliament (the Riot Act), that diſcontented inſurgents ſhould miſconſtrue a proclamation which they had not taken time to ſtudy. The proclamation, notwithſtanding the outcry againſt it, not only does not eſtabliſh martial law or any thing like it, but gives very little more power to the wearer

of a red coat, than the wearer of a coat of any colour in the rainbow already poſſeſſed by the laws of his country, if thoſe laws be rightly underſtood.

So univerſally was the origin of theſe evils traced, whether deſignedly or undeſignedly on his part, to the unfortunate preſident of the Proteſtant aſſociation, that humanity gave place for a time to a meaner paſſion, and many, who were ſufficiently compoſed to uſe their bottles and glaſſes, drank as a toaſt, "The Gordian Knot, and Alexander Wedderburn to cut it!"---On Friday evening, Lord George Gordon, having been taken into cuſtody at his houſe by two meſſengers, was committed cloſe priſoner to the tower; where we will leave him to the bitterneſs of his own reflexions, and to the juſtice of his country. When he had been committed two or three days, he complained to the officer upon duty of the cloſeneſs of his confinement, and of the cruelty of not being ſuffered to ſee his deareſt friend or his neareſt relation. The officer appealed to his own good ſenſe for the neceſſity of ſuch confinement; but begged to aſſure him that, ſince he had been in cuſtody, neither friend nor relation had once come to ſee him. The ſame evening the Lord Mayor underwent an examination before the privy council, in conſequence, as it is ſaid, of complaints preferred againſt him for groſs inactivity during the riots by Mr. Foley and Lord Beauchamp. If we may credit report, the Lord Mayor did not do his character much ſervice by his behaviour before the council. It is to be hoped an inquiry into conduct, like that of which he is ſo loudly accuſed, will not ſtop here.

On

On Saturday June the 10th was publiſhed a proclamation offering a reward of fifty pounds upon the conviction of any of the rioters.

While the military were rendering us theſe eſſential ſervices at home, and two camps were forming in St. James's and Hyde parks, the winds were wafting to us a-croſs the Atlantic intelligence of the brilliant ſucceſs of our military in another quarter of the globe. Thurſday, June the 15th, ſaw the Earl of Lincoln arrive with ſuch news from Genaral Sir Henry Clinton as the writer will not repeat, becauſe it will not ſpeedily be forgotten by his countrymen. It ſpread ſuch joy over the metropolis that it almoſt drove from the recollection of its inhabitants the ſituation from which they had ſo lately eſcaped; a ſituation worſe perhaps than that of the beſieged inhabitants of Charles-Town.

It ſhould have been mentioned that there were attempts at riots in one or two provincial places, at Hull and at Briſtol; but they were ſtopped immediately. At Bath a chapel, and two or three houſes, were deſtroyed. The military, however, quickly quelled the inſurgents.---

The attention of every thinking man was now fixed upon Monday the 19th of June, the day on which both houſes were to meet. The report that his Majeſty would go to the houſe was heared by all with pleaſure. On that day his Majeſty met his parliament, and delivered the following manly and ſpirited ſpeech from the throne.

" *My Lords, and Gentlemen,*

" The outrages committed by bands of deſperate and abandoned men, in various parts of this metropolis, broke forth with ſuch violence into acts of felony and treaſon, had ſo far overborne all civil authority, and threatened ſo directly the immediate ſubverſion of all legal power, the deſtruction of all property, and the confuſion of every order in the ſtate, that I found myſelf obliged, by every tie of duty and affection to my people, to ſuppreſs, in every part, thoſe rebellious inſurrections, and to provide for the public ſafety, by the moſt effectual and immediate application of the force entruſted to me by parliament.

" I have directed copies of the proclamations iſſued upon that occaſion to be laid before you.

" Proper orders have been given for bringing the authors and abettors of theſe inſurrections, and the perpetrators of ſuch criminal acts, to ſpeedy trial, and to ſuch condign puniſhment as the laws of their country preſcribe, and as the vindication of public juſtice demands.

" Though I truſt it is not neceſſary, yet I think it right at this time, to renew to you my ſolemn aſſurances, that I have no other object but to make the laws of the realm, and the principles of our excellent conſtitution in church and ſtate, the rule and meaſure of my conduct; and I ſhall ever conſider it as the firſt duty of my ſtation, and the chief glory of my reign, to maintain and preſerve the eſtabliſhed religion of my kingdoms, and, as far as in me lies, to ſecure and to perpetuate the rights and liberties of my people."

the

The addreſs of thanks was carried in both houſes, without a negative. In the Lords the Duke of Richmond found much fault, and profeſſed he ſhould thereafter find much more, with the conduct of government; in conſequence of information for which his Grace acknowleged his obligation to common newſpapers. Lord Mansfield explained the law of England with regard to riots, in a manner which muſt have made moſt of his auditors reflect what a loſs the country would have ſuſtained had the Barbarians carried into execution their bloody purpoſes. An unaffected ſtroke of natural eloquence is ſaid to have involuntarily eſcaped his Lordſhip, which muſt have dimmed for an inſtant the eye of every liberal, feeling hearer--- "My Lords, I ſhall not deliver my opinion from "books; God knows I have none."---In the Commons Colonel Barré, Mr. Dunning, Mr, Fox, though they did not oppoſe the addreſs, took care to qualify their aſſent to it. Mr. Burke ſeemed to overlook the grand traitors to our country, and to aſcribe all the diſturbances to a ſett of deluded fanatics.

Let Juſtice with her ſlow but certain ſtep purſue the ſteady courſe of evidence, and we ſhall ſoon trace this turbulent torrent of popular inſurrection to its fountain head. If the dry rock was originally ſtruck by the magic wand of fanaticiſm; no ſooner had the waters guſhed forth, than they were ſwelled into a roaring ſtream by domeſtic treaſon and foreign villainy. True it is, that after the military had been obliged to fire in Bloomſbury Square, a fanatic female daubed her hands with the blood of one of the wretches who fell, and beſmearing the faces of thoſe

near

near her, " I conjure you," ſhe exclaimed, " by the blood of thoſe whom we have ſeen murdered in defence of our holy religion, not to ſtop while a Roman remains in England!" True it is, that two rioters were overheard in deep argument; when one obſerved to the other, " Why, now, this American war. Is it not brother murdering brother, and proteſtant fighting againſt proteſtant? And what is that but a popiſh maſſacre?" True it is, that a perſon was ſeen cheapening a mackarel in Drury-Lane: Another fiſhwoman, near her with whom he was bargaining, told him not to buy of her, for ſhe was a Roman. " You lie, you old whore!" ſhe returned. " Maſter, that wicked woman's a pope, ſhe knows ſhe is.---Here your honour; here's a nice ſoft-rowed fiſh."---Yet is it equally fact, that *Delenda eſt Carthago* was the word: that ſome of the rioters killed by the military, were only diſguiſed as low people; that ſome of thoſe in cuſtody are certainly Roman Catholics: that foreign paper, to no inconſiderable amount, has very lately croſſed the channel: that ſtrange ſtories are told and believed about the large ſums of money produced and paid on behalf of the mob by men, to appearance, not worth ſix-pence: that on the Friday and Tueſday (the 2d and 6th of June) were ſeen in the Adelphi and Palace-yard, men in long blue gowns, diſguiſed ſomething like quack doctors' ſervants, who diſtributed, from large bags under their gowns, handfuls of halfpence to ſuch of the rioters as choſe to take them: that ſtands of arms have been ſecured either of French or Spaniſh make: that, ſtrange as it may ſound, the public may prepare to be ſurprized with evdence of ſomething more than inſinuations

nuations to ſome of the proteſtant ſubſcribers, that, by indulgencies to the Roman Catholics, the King had broken his coronation oath; and that the throne could not be better filled than by ſo firm a friend to religion as Lord George Gordon, who would allow no nobility, but would reduce all his ſubjects to one happy level. Another fact is curious, and undeniable--without any refinement in ſuſpicion, or pretending to ſee quite a mile into the mill-ſtone, all muſt allow that there have been diſplayed throughout theſe convulſions, more ſcheme, more of regularity, more of ſyſtem, than have hitherto appeared in county aſſociations the moſt violent. In this fact there is much opportunity for reflection. To reflection the reader now feels an inclination to be left. May his reflection be undiſturbed by new alarms! May theſe convulſions (though who will anſwer from them?) be now altogether over paſt! They authorize the writer to mention one internal danger that ſtill hangs over us, which he ſeriouſly recommends to the attention of every idividual---it perhaps would not diſgrace the attention even of parliament. At a time when we are all convinced how narrowly we have eſcaped from the vengeance of foreign perfidy, no family, of any rank, ſhould be ſuffered to retain in its ſervice a foreign ſervant.

While every day brings to light the diabolical effects of theſe inſurrections, let us not forget to rejoice over the good effects they have produced. Every individual, whether father, ſon, nephew, or brother, muſt experience ſenſations of happineſs on the reconciliation of the royal family.

The reader will be ſurprized to know what the writer believes to be truth; that, notwithſtanding Lord George's army of petitioners againſt Sir George Savile's bill, not a ſingle additional popiſh ſchool or ſeminary has been opened ſince the paſſing of the bill; and the number of prieſts have decreaſed twenty-three. No leſs ſurprized will he be to recollect, that the Sunday before this army of martyrs began their attack on the conſtitution, two of the firſt Roman Catholics in the kingdom (Lord Surrey and Sir Thomas Gaſcoyne) read their public recantations, which were known to have been in contemplation for ſome time.

It is not the leaſt extraordinary fact in the hiſtory of this buſineſs, that a modern Partridge ſhould by accident have hit the blot ſo exactly. From "Vox Stellarum, or Francis Moore's Loyal Almanack for 1780," the writer tranſcribes the following obſervations on the preſent month of June:

"*Latet Anguis in Herba.*

"Whoſoever doth but ſeriouſly conſider the actions of this and the ſucceeding months (here being ſo many ſignal aſpects of the planets) ſhall find much of council therein, and probably as much of action follows in one kind or other —We may expect the diſcovery of treachery, diſſimulation, and villainy in ſome great perſons in many parts of Europe. We now live in thoſe times that produce prodigious attempts both at home and abroad. Every man is apt to abound in his own ſenſe. Some would arrive to a kind of prodigy in government, and endeavour to become cedars of ſtate. But let ſuch perſons content themſelves; for death and time will certainly cure their maladies, and convey them

them out of the reach of envy and contempt, which they cannot reaſonably expect during life."

---And here the writer, having deſcribed the bleſſed conſequences of appeals to the people, leaves his readers to brood over them. Thoſe now at a diſtance from the ſcene of public affairs, and thoſ who ſhall hereafter be born at a diſtance from theſe times, will wiſh to know the preſent ſentiments of Engliſhmen, with regard to the act which we are, beyond a doubt, primarily to thank for theſe diſaſters; though it is not meant to be ſuggeſted that the authors of the act ever intended them.

Thinking men ſeem to be divided into three claſſes. The moſt numerous are violent againſt the repeal of an act of parliament which has been attacked by riot, inſurrection, and rebellion: they ſay it would be dubbing a lawleſs mob repreſentatives of the people and peers of Parliament: Sir George Savile's bill grants the Roman Catholics no improper indulgencies; they are ſtill, by other acts of the legiſlature, prohibited, upon pain of fine and impriſonment, from teaching ſchools, unleſs they be licenſed by the ordinary, and ſubſcribe a declaration of conformity to the liturgy of the church, and frequent the worſhip eſtabliſhed by law; if they willingly ſay or hear maſs, they forfeit, the one two hundred, the other one hundred marks, and each ſhall ſuffer one year's impriſonment; they muſt not keep arms in their houſes, nor come within ten miles of London, upon pain of one hundred pounds; they may not travel above five miles from home, upon pain of forfeiting all their goods; and they may not

come to Court, under pain of one hundred pounds; if any perſon ſend another abroad, to be educated in the popiſh religion, or contribute to their maintenance when there, the ſender, the ſent, and contributor, are diſabled to ſue in law and equity; to take any legacy; to bear any office, and ſhall forfeit all their goods and chattles, and likewiſe all their real eſtate for life; where any perſon, having been a proteſtant, becomes reconciled to the See of Rome, or procures others to be reconciled, the offence amounts to high treaſon. This party ſtrengthen themſelves further by every liberal and captivating argument in favour of toleration.

A claſs of men, leſs numerous than the former, are for the repeal of the act: they ſay the riots are now over, and that thoſe very riots were begun, or at leaſt continued, by thoſe Roman Catholics to whom this act grants indulgencies: that Roman Catholic is only another word for the natural enemies of our country, that to grant them indulgencies is to grant indulgencies to the French and the Spaniards. Theſe arguments are backed, they ſay, by the opinion of Blackſtone (4, 54), in the following paſſage. "As to the papiſts, what has been ſaid of the proteſtant diſſenters, would hold equally ſtrong for a general toleration of them, provided their ſeparation was founded only upon difference of opinion in religion, and their principles did not alſo extend to a *ſubverſion of the civil government.* If once they could be brought to renounce the ſupremacy of the Pope, they might quietly enjoy their ſeven ſacraments, their purgatory, and auricular confeſſion; their worſhip of reliques, and

images; nay, even their tranſubſtantiation. But while they acknowledge a foreign power ſuperior to the ſovereignty of the kingdom, they cannot complain if the laws of that kingdom will not treat them upon the footing of good ſubjects."

A third ſet, as is ever the caſe both in public and private, too cowardly to ſpeak their real ſentiments and ſtand the hazard of the throw, wiſh to have their timidity paſs for caution, and pretend to recommend ſomething between the two extremes. Theſe daſtardly trimmers form, it is to be hoped, the leaſt numerous, they certainly form the moſt deſpicable claſs of the three.

All men of all deſcriptions, and all ways of thinking, who have peruſed Voltaire's chapter on *toleration*, call to their minds the following paſſage (with which this work ſhall cloſe), and lament that the author ſhould not deſerve the praiſe of prophecy: "In Holland they no longer fear that the diſputations of a Gomar, concerning predeſtination, ſhould bring the head of a grand penſionary to the block; nor in London, that the quarrels between the preſbyterians and the epiſcopals, about a form of prayer, and a ſurplice, ſhould again ſpill the blood of their King upon a ſcaffold. Ireland will not any more behold its Catholic inhabitants ſacrifice, as an acceptable offering, the lives of their proteſtant brethren. No! Such cruelties as theſe will never be imitated. Philoſophy, the ſiſter of religion, has herſelf ſnatched the poignard from the hands of ſuperſtition, ſo long bathed in blood; and the human underſtanding, recovered from its delirium, ſtands amazed at the ſhocking brutalities into which it has been hurried by enthuſiaſm."

THE END.

POSTSCRIPT.

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